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**Journal of the
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Acoustic Analysis of the Maithili Diphthongs

Sunil Kumar Jha
S.M.B.M.Campus, Rajbiraj
Tribhuvan University

Introduction

There have been various studies on diphthongs (e.g. Hibbitt, 1948; Trager and Smith, 1951; Gleason, 1955; Lehiste and Peterson, 1961; Malmberg, 1963; Gay, 1968; Gerber, 1972) during the previous four decades or so. But the interpretations and definitions of diphthongs given by different researchers do not always agree. For example, some researchers (e.g. Hibbitt, 1948; Gleason, 1955; Catford, 1977) hold that a diphthong is a blend of two perceptually different vowels within one and the same syllable; others (e.g. Trager and Smith, 1951) hold that it is a sequence of vowel and semivowel; while still others (e.g. Lehiste and Peterson, 1961; Malmberg, 1963; Gay, 1968; Gerber, 1972) hold that it is a vocalic syllable nucleus containing two 'target' positions.

It is primarily due to the different criteria followed in the investigation of diphthongs — whether articulatory, whether articulatory, perceptual, acoustic, or some combination of these — that different researchers have resorted to different definitions of what a diphthong is. On the whole, most researchers seem to agree that in point of fact a diphthong may, indeed, consist of two discrete 'elements', with a relatively rapid transition between them. According to most of them, a diphthong may be described and identified in terms of its beginning and ending points, using the categories for monophthongs with the assumption that the articulators, in their movement, take the shortest path between these points.

But the question is: Is a diphthong really a pair of monophthongs, end-to-end? It seems that in the articulatory domain a diphthong is a single event characterized by the change of articulator position. In the perceptual domain, however, there is the question whether diphthongs are identified as single events — i.e. as individual vocalic syllable nuclei — or as dual events. Put slightly differently, the question still is: Is the perceived diphthong different from the perception of a pair of vowels? It is with the help of some attributes gathered from the results of a spectrographic study of the Maithili diphthongs that we shall make an attempt to find out some possible answers to this question.

Procedures

For the purpose of the present study, a list of test utterances containing the two Maithili diphthongs, /əi/ and /əu/, was prepared,

keeping the diphthongs both in isolation² and in word contexts. Table I lists these test utterances:

Table I: Test utterances containing the Maithili diphthongs spoken both in isolation and in word contexts.

Diphthongs	Initial	Medial	Final
/əi/	/'əik ^h ən/'at this time'	/kəil/'of a white colour'	/del'kəi/'(a third person) gave (something to another third person)'
/əu/	/'əuk ^h ən/'even	/kəul ^(h) /'small mill'	/del'kəu/'(a third person) gave (something to a second person)'

All these test utterances were recorded under three different speaking rates: (1) at a slow speed (i.e. recorded in isolation); (2) at a moderate speed (i.e. recorded in words); and (3) at a fast speed (i.e. recorded in words put in a normal conversational sentence context, the frame of the sentence being /'p^hero . . . kəhi'yəu/ 'Please say . . . again').

Nine tokens of each test utterance were recorded in a soundproof studio at Essex University. All these recordings were made on a Revox B 77 tape-recorder. Of the nine tokens of each test utterance, the first two as well as the last two tokens were ignored, and all the remaining five tokens from the middle were used to obtain visual records in the form of spectrograms. Wideband spectrograms and wideband 'sections' (i.e. short-term spectrum) of each of the five tokens were made on a Sona-Graph 6061-B Sound Spectrograph, Kay Electronic Co., Pine Brook, N.J.

The formant frequency of each token was measured from wideband spectrograms, since these were found to offer the most convenient way of locating the centre frequency of each formant. Duration measurements were made from all the five tokens of each test utterance as recorded in various contexts. Formant frequency and duration measurements were made to the nearest 20 Hz and 5 ms, respectively.

Results and Discussions

The two main objectives of the present study were to determine:

- (1) the average frequency of F₁ and F₂ for each of the two elements (i.e. of the 'onset' and 'offset' steady states) as well as the rate of change of F₂ for each diphthong as recorded under the three speaking rates; and

- (2) the duration of the onset and offset steady states, the duration of the F₂ transition from the initial element to the final element as well as the overall duration of the two diphthongs in each one of the three speaking rates.

The 'steady state' was defined as the time interval during which formants remained parallel to the time axis; the 'transition state' was considered in terms of the rate of change of the formant frequency in a given time interval (i.e. Hz per ms).

Formant Frequency Measurement Results and Discussions

The average frequency values for the onset and offset steady states of the two diphthongs as well as the rate of change of F₂ for each diphthong are all given in Table II³. The table shows the effects of duration conditions on F₁ and F₂ target⁴ frequencies. For both diphthongs, there is little consistent change in onset frequency positions for the three duration conditions. But both F₁ and F₂ offsets show consistent changes in frequency levels across changes in duration. For [əi], F₁ offset frequency values are higher and F₂ offset frequency values are lower as the diphthong duration

Table II: Average formant frequencies (in Hz) for the onset and offset steady states of the Maithili diphthongs and their F₂ rate of change for the three conditions of speaking rate.

Diphthong	Rate of speaking	F ₁		F ₂		F ₂ rate of change (in Hz/ms)
		Onset	Offset	Onset	Offset	
/əi/	slow	485	255	1090	2450	12.95
	moderate	480	310	1120	2170	12.35
	fast	475	360	1140	1880	12.33
/əu/	slow	475	310	1080	650	4.78
	moderate	470	350	1100	775	4.64
	fast	465	395	1110	840	4.50

decreases under the three conditions of speaking rate; for /əu/, both F₁ and F₂ offset frequency values are higher for conditions of shorter duration. Another important point to note is that the rate of change of F₂ for each diphthong is relatively constant across changes in duration.⁵ This rate of change of F₂ for the diphthong /əi/ has a range between 12.33 and 12.95 in Hz per ms; for /əu/ the rate of change has a range between 4.50 and 4.78 in Hz per ms.

To show the effects of these changes on the identity of the 'targets', we first plot in Figure 1 the average F₁ F₂ frequency values for the three steady state vowels /ə i u/ spoken in isolation.

The average F_1 and F_2 frequency values for these vowels are given in Table III⁶. In Figure 1 the three steady state vowels are shown by three bold dots. The average F_1 and F_2 frequency values for the steady state onset and offset positions of the diphthongs /əi/ and /əu/ as spoken under the three conditions of speaking rate are plotted on an F_1 - F_2 grid in Figure 2 against the three boldly dotted positions of the steady state vowels: /ə i u/:

Table III

Vowel	F_1	F_2
/ə /	480	1088
/i /	258	2456
/u /	308	626

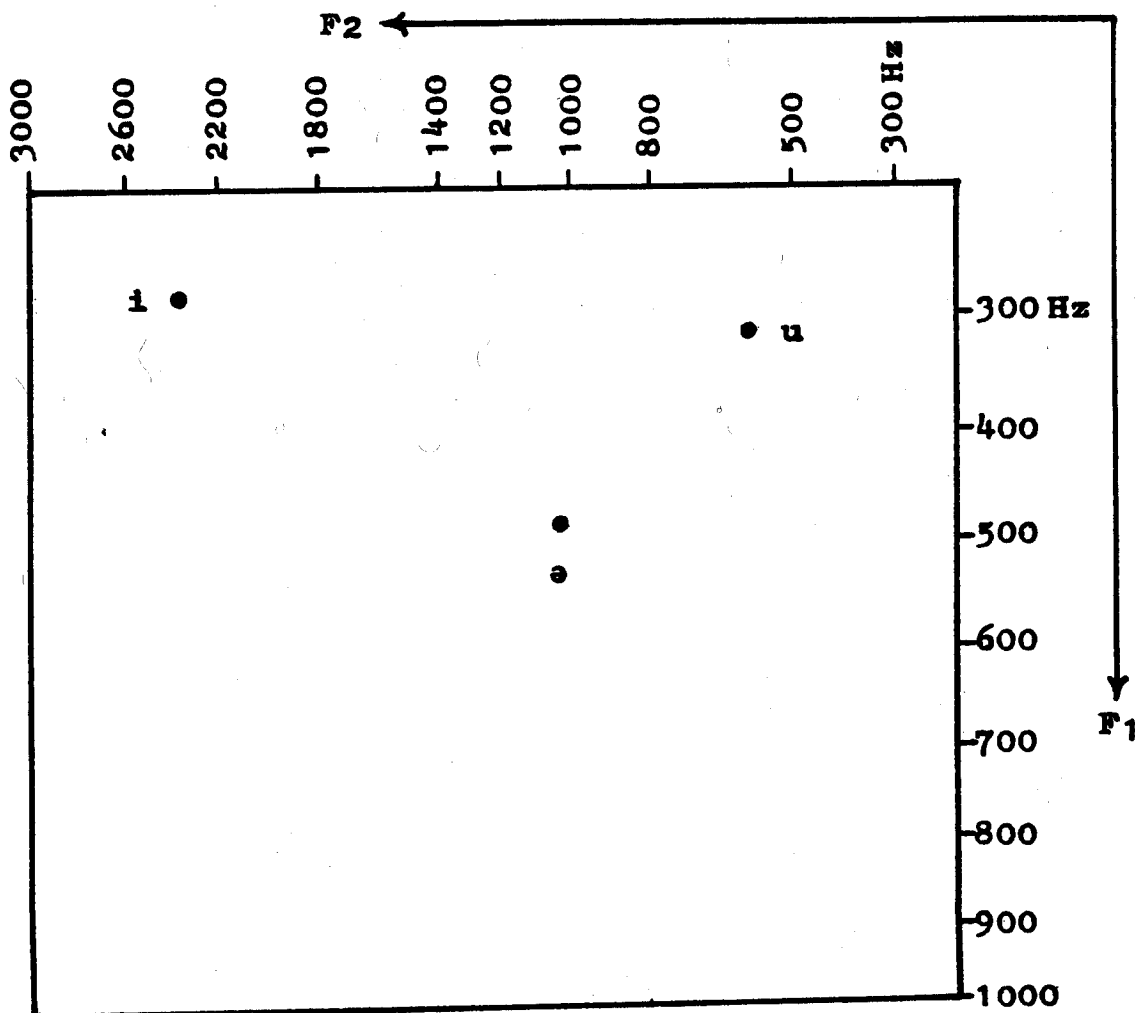


Figure 1: Average frequency values of F_1 and F_2 for the three Maithili steady state vowels: /ə i u/.

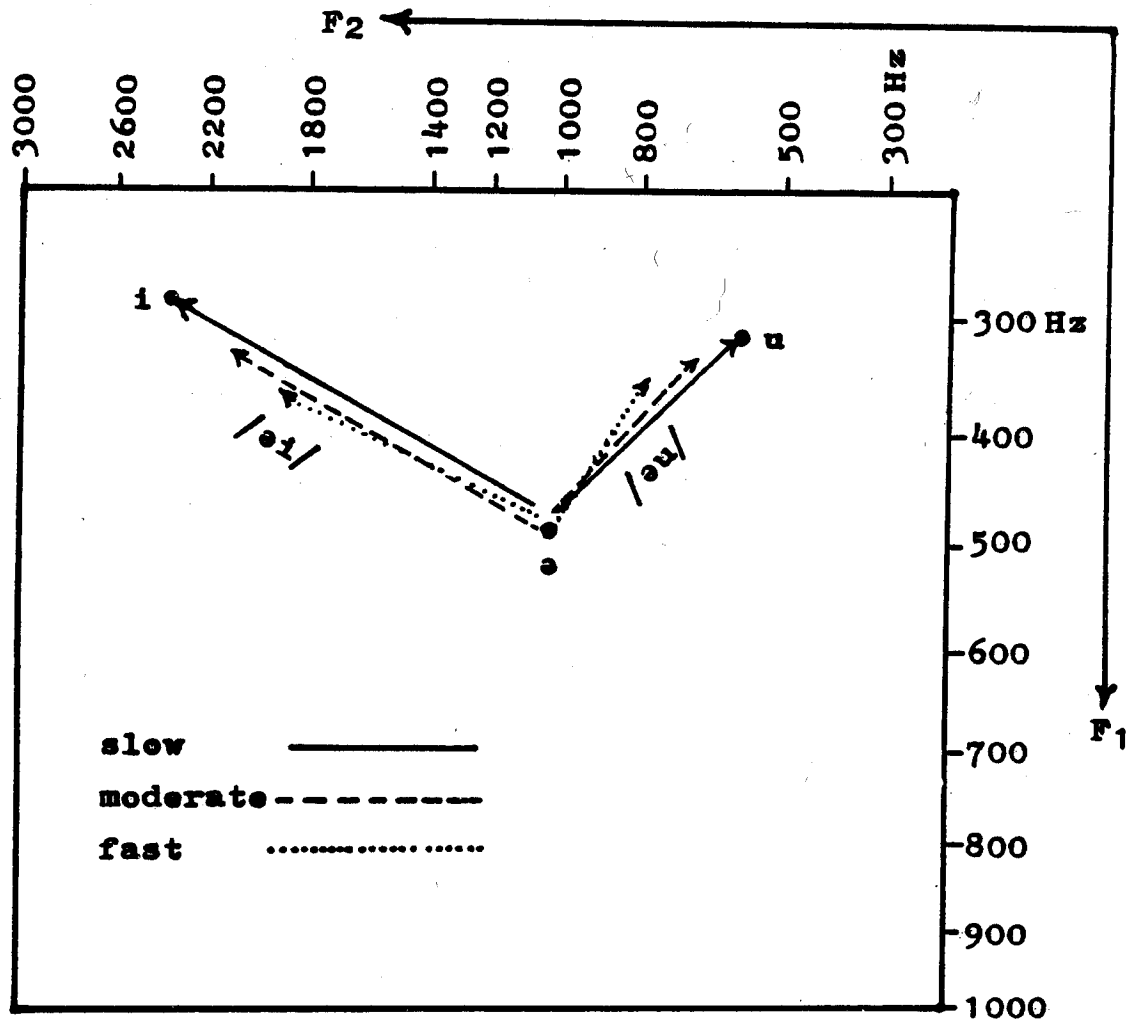


Figure 2: Average F₁ and F₂ values for the steady state onsets and offsets of the Maithili diphthongs /əi/ and /əu/ as recorded under the three conditions of speaking rate plotted on an F₁-F₂ grid against the three bold dotted positions of the steady state Maithili vowels /ə i u/.

Figure 2 embodies:

- (i) 'corresponding' start 'target': ;
- (ii) 'corresponding' end 'target': i or u;
- (iii) direction of movement: ——— ;
- (iv) amount of movement: i.e. length of ——— ; and
- (v) variation of rate of movement: i.e.

connected ————— vs broken - - - - - vs
dotted lines.

As Figure 2 shows, each of the two diphthongs displays a clear change of offset identity; onset positions, on the other hand, are more or less preserved across changes in duration. The figure further illustrates that each diphthong follows a similar movement-direction across changes in duration with the shorter utterances terminating before reaching their targets. In other words, the plots in Figure 2 clearly display that it is only in conditions of slow speaking rate that the offset targets of the diphthongs /əi/ and /əu/ are reached, while in conditions of both moderate and fast speaking rates the offset targets are never quite reached. In general, the faster the conditions of speaking rate, the quicker the termination of the offset movement-direction of each diphthong.

Thus, the results of our spectrographic study show that the Maithili diphthongs /əi/ and /əu/ are each characterized by two attributes:

- (1) a comparatively fixed onset steady state; and
- (2) continuously as well as systematically changing glide elements, the main property of this systematic continuous change being a very similar rate of change of F_2 across changes in the three duration conditions.

Offset steady states are found least prominent in these diphthongs - in fact, each diphthong displays a clear change of offset identity across changes in duration conditions. Hence, if we assume - as the symbols traditionally used to write the diphthongs /əi/ and /əu/ would suggest - that the offset targets of /əi/ and /əu/ are the steady state vowels /i/ and /u/, respectively, then it is only in conditions of slow speaking rate that these offset targets are reached, while in faster conditions of speaking rate the offset movement-direction of each diphthong always terminates before reaching its target.

Duration Measurement Results and Discussions

In addition to the frequency of vowel formants, other parameters involved in the perception of the Maithili diphthongs - like the diphthongs of other languages, for that matter - concern their duration. Therefore, studies on the duration of these diphthongs were also made. The results of these duration measurements are given in Table IV. This table shows average durations (in ms) of the onset steady state, the offset steady state, the F_2 transition as well as the total duration of the two diphthongs as recorded under the following three conditions of speaking rate: slow, moderate and fast.

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To show exactly what these measurements refer to, Figure 3 displays spectrograms of two words - i.e. $['\text{a}ik^h\text{ə}n]$ 'at this time' and $[\text{kə}hi'yəu]$ '(please) say' - containing the two diphthongs. Both words were spoken at a moderate speed.

Table IV: Average durations (in ms) of the onset steady state, the offset steady state, the F_2 transitions and the total duration of the two Maithili diphthongs as recorded under the three conditions of speaking rate.

Diphthong	Rate of Speaking	a	b	c	Total
		Onset	F_2 transition	Offset	
/əi/	slow	50	105	80	235
	moderate	25	85	40	150
	fast	10	60	20	90
/əu/	slow	40	90	60	190
	moderate	20	70	30	120
	fast	10	60	15	85

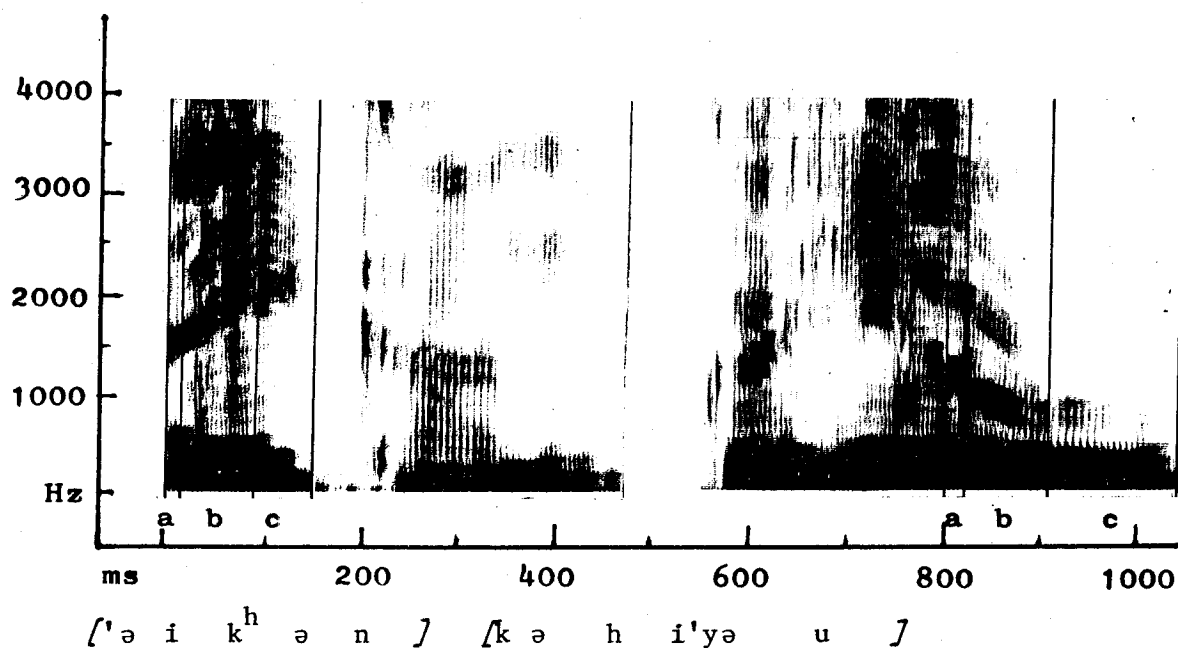


Figure 3: Spectrograms of two Maithili words, $['\text{a}ik^h\text{ə}n]$ and $[\text{kə}hi'yəu]$, spoken at a moderate speed.

A time scale (with an arbitrary starting point) is shown in ms along the bottom of the horizontal axis; the vertical axis shows the frequencies in Hz. in Figure 3:

- (i) 'a' embodies onset steady state;
- (ii) 'b' embodies F_2 transition; and
- (iii) 'c' embodies offset steady state.

The average F_2 frequency values for the two diphthongs given earlier in Table III and the average durations for the same diphthongs given in Table IV are graphically illustrated in Figure 4. In Figure 4, too, 'a', 'b' and 'c' embody onset steady state, F_2 transition, and offset steady state, respectively. Connected lines of the figure show the two diphthongs spoken at a slow speed; broken lines show them as spoken at a moderate speed; and dotted lines show them as spoken at a fast speed.

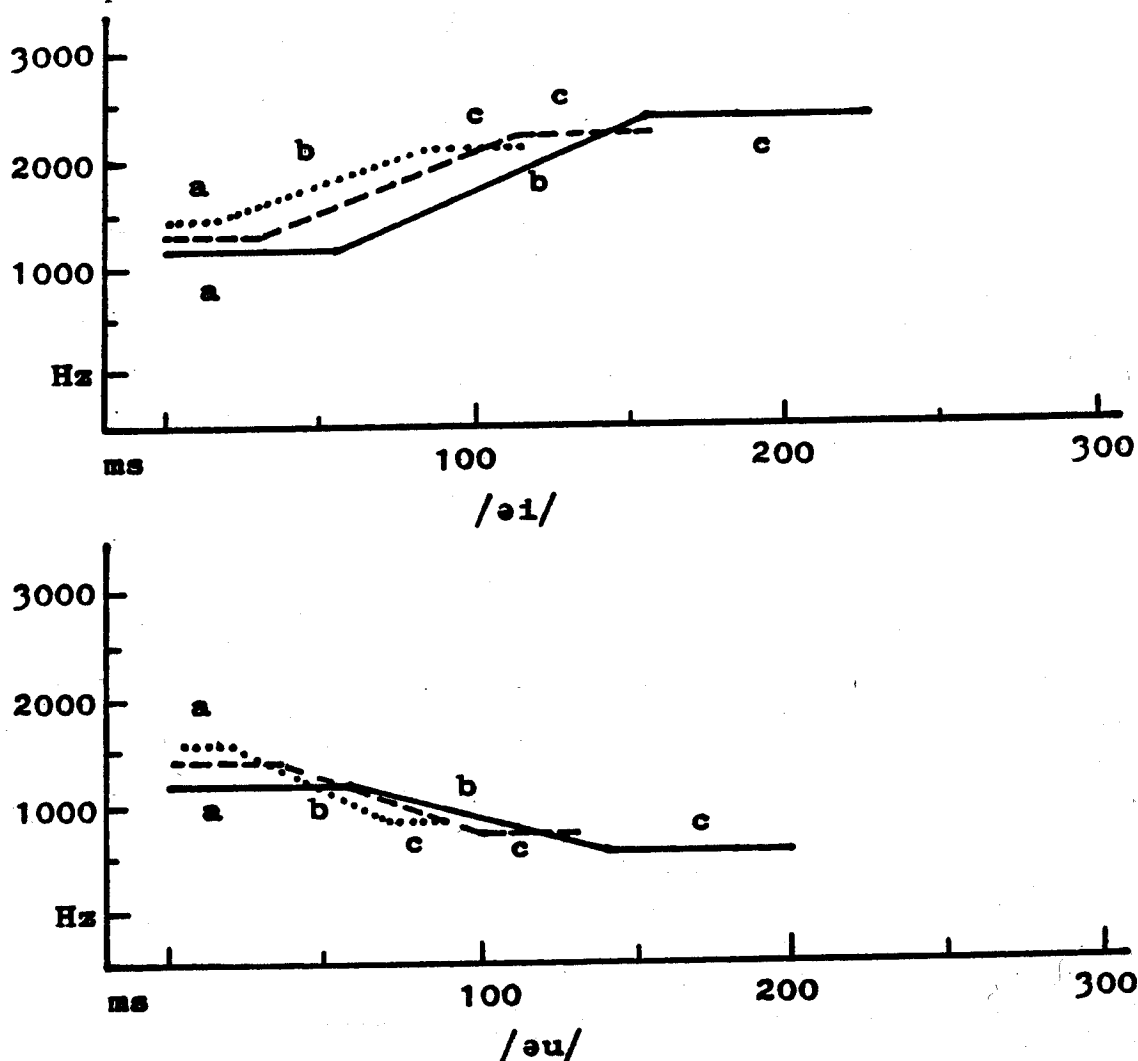


Figure 4: Average F_2 frequencies and average durations of the onset steady state, the F_2 transition and the offset steady state of the two Maithili diphthongs recorded under the three conditions of speaking rate: slow (connected lines), moderate (broken lines) and fast (dotted lines).

All the above tables and figures concerning the two diphthongs show that a change in the speaking rate from slow to fast brings about a reduction in the total duration ranging between 38 and 64%. The data also shows that the onset durations for both diphthongs are less than their offset durations. Although both onset steady state and F_2 transition durations decrease as the speaker's rate of production increases, the significant point to note about our data is that the decrease in F_2 transition duration is always accompanied by an increase in F_1 offset frequency and a decrease in F_2 offset frequency for /əi/ but an increase in F_2 offset frequency for /əu/. And there is no distinct modification of the rate of change of F_2 either in /əi/ or in /əu/, as spoken in all three conditions of speaking rate -- i.e. the rate of change of F_2 remains very stable in both diphthongs. This stability is a fact of the production. It seems that the speaker maintains the stability here because he believes this section of the diphthong to be that most relevant for diphthong-perception.

When recorded under moderate and fast speaking rates, both diphthongs were placed in all word positions: initial, medial and final. The formant frequency and duration measurements of these diphthongs do not indicate any consistent initial or terminal consonant effects on target frequency levels, or initial consonant effects on duration. However, there was some slight terminal consonant voicing-effect on duration. The increased duration of /əi/ and /əu/ preceding a voiced consonant - i.e. in the Maithili words /kəil/ 'of a white colour' and /kəul^(h)/ 'small mill' - is accomplished primarily by a lengthening of the steady state onset. F_2 transition and steady state offset durations are also slightly longer.⁸

Our analysis of the acoustic characteristics of the two Maithili diphthongs reveals a certain movement along the particular path between the zones corresponding to two different vowels - i.e. between /ə/ and /i/ or /u/ - in the vowel space. It has been observed that in a consonant diphthong-consonant context this movement is performed in five steps:

- (i) transition from the consonant to the initial element of the diphthong;
- (ii) steady state (or 'target') of the initial element - i.e. onset steady state;
- (iii) transition from the initial target-element to the final target-element of the diphthong;
- (iv) steady state (or 'target') of the final element - i.e. offset steady state; and
- (v) transition from the final target-element of the diphthong to the following consonant.

These steps are more evident in a slow speaking rate; when the speaking rate is increased, they tend to shorten.

Thus, from the point of view of the production, it may be inferred that the articulatory gesture for the Maithili diphthongs begins at a rather fixed position in the vowel space, which is very similar to the position held by the Maithili steady state vowel /ə/. This position is held for a particular length of time (relative time, that is), the absolute duration of which is determined mainly by the rate of speaking and/or the presence or absence of a following voiced consonant. The articulators then begin to move toward a final target position at a given speed, the final target position being similar to the one that the steady state vowel /i/ or /u/ has. If the rate of speaking is slow, the final target is reached and the gesture is completed; if, on the other hand, the rate of speaking is fast, the movement, while still on course, is cut off before reaching the final target.

Hence, if we recall our earlier question: Is a diphthong really a pair of monophthongs, end-to-end?, our spectrographic evidence from Maithili suggests an answer which could be put as yes and no: yes, if the speaking rate is slow; no, not really, if the speaking rate is fast. The spectrographic measurements of our study, especially those of formant positions and overall movement, do suggest that each of the two Maithili diphthongs, /əi/ and /əu/, does have a first element which is the starting point and a second element which is the point in the direction of which the glide or movement is made. Our results clearly suggest that, in general, the faster the speaking rate, the quicker the termination of this movement of the articulators in the vowel space.

Conclusion

From our findings and from what the literature has to say on this topic, it may be concluded that the phonetic features emerging from the consideration of diphthongs in a particular language are not necessarily sufficient or optimal to characterize the phenomenon in general. Hence, for example, in Spanish (e.g. Manrique, 1979) the prevalence of one steady state over the other depends on the position of the open vowels; in English (e.g. Lehiste and Peterson, 1961; Gay, 1968; Gerber, 1972) it is the onset steady state which is always most relevant; while our data suggest that the most significant attributes of the Maithili diphthongs are two: (1) their onset frequency position and (2) their second-formant rate of change, which is always very stable in these diphthongs across changes in duration conditions. This stability is a fact of the production. It seems that the speaker maintains the stability here because he believes this section of the diphthong to be that most relevant for diphthong-perception.

NOTES

1. This paper forms part of the fourth chapter of Jha's (1984) unpublished doctoral dissertation. The author is grateful to both Professor Marcel A. A. Tatham and Dr. Jacques Durand of the Department of Language and Linguistics at Essex University (England) for their detailed criticisms, comments and suggestions on various versions of this study which have led to its improvements both in style and in content.
2. It should be pointed out that both Maithili diphthongs, /əi/ and /əu/, are used as morphemes in this language.
3. For the detailed frequency values for each of the total recorded tokens, together with the test utterances and with the average and range of all five tokens of each test utterance, see Jha (1984: 330-332).
4. In this study 'target' positions are defined as the ones where both 'onset' and 'offset' maintain their own distinct steady states - i.e. the states in which the formants remain parallel to the time axis for a particular time interval.
5. Measurements of F_1 rates of change for these diphthongs were not done because of possible measurement error effects.
6. See Jha (1984: 311-312) for the detailed frequency values of every token of the steady state vowels /ə i ə u/ as spoken in isolation.
7. For the detailed duration measurement values for each token of all these test utterances, together with their average and range, see Jha (1984: 333-335).
8. See Jha (1984: 334-335) for more information with regards to the duration of /əi/ and /əu/ preceding the voiced consonants /l/ and /lh/ in the words /kəil/ and /kəul(h)/, as spoken under both moderate and fast speaking rates.

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Household Organisation Among Newar Traders

Declan Quigley

The smallest social unit in Newar society is the household, often a joint household, defined in terms of those who share a cooking hearth (New. bhutu; Nep. culo). As a rule, the same unit is a corporate property-owning group though there is usually a short delay between the formation of a new hearth and the formal division of property. This is simply a matter of practicability: dividing a house or lands takes time.

In spite of clear evidence to the contrary, it is still widely believed that the joint family inevitably declines in the wake of modernisation and/or urbanisation. Two particular factors believed to promote this decline are an increased monetisation of the economy and occupational diversification. Each is thought to facilitate an individual, or a nuclear family, to stand as an independent economic unit. The fact that modernisation seems usually to make this possible has led to the common interpretation that the trend must therefore be inevitable.

Parry has thoroughly examined the competing theories and evidence and asserts that:

In the Indian case, there is now a substantial body of evidence which suggests the widespread prevalence of joint families in an industrial urban environment, as well as in villages which produce cash crops or which have highly diversified economies (Parry, 1979,152).

Data which I have collected from the small Newar bazaar town of Dhulikhel, 30 kilometers east of Kathmandu, from 1980-82, clearly support this contention. As Parry points out, the naive generalisations about the demise of the joint family were often based on rather shaky foundations. They often assumed an ideal past where the joint family was the norm when there was no proof for this. And it was far from clear how the joint household was defined - as a residential group, a property-owning group, both? Mayer (1960,182) distinguished the 'joint household' from the 'joint family'. The former comprised those who 'share a cooking hearth, pool their incomes and have living expenses in common'; the latter is 'a corporate property group of patrikin, not necessarily a discrete living unit'. (Among Newars however, both groups are the same and I shall use the terms 'household' and 'family' interchangeably.) Kolenda (1968) has shown that 'joint' family can mean several different things and it is on the basis of her categories that I shall analyse my own material.

Parry contends that no matter how clever the analytical distinctions we may devise, the real world is more complicated and ambiguous. Consider, for example, the brother who lives in the city with his wife and children and who visits his village household only sporadically. Normally he may make no contribution to the common pool even though no formal decision about division has been made. Or the case of women who have quarrelled and refuse to cook together: there may be one hearth but meals are cooked separately. Nevertheless, Parry's own evidence seems to indicate that where such cases become protracted they are usually a signal of impending partition. In Dhulikhel, as I will show, there is little room for ambiguity though it must be admitted that it is not always clear whether a particular household, absent for trade, ever plans to return and resettle there permanently.

In view of Parry's (1979) review of the literature on the Indian joint household, I will give only the briefest of outlines here in order to place my own material in a wider perspective. Following earlier sociological theorists who believed that modernisation inevitably heralded the predominance of the nuclear family over other family types, anthropologists in India looked for evidence of a decline in the joint family there. Bailey (1958, 92) argued that the joint family 'cannot survive divergent interests and disparate incomes among its members'. Moreover, the mercantile economy had split the joint family because

the replacement of the client system by wage labour set no limit to the size of the unit of management and made it easy for those who invested in land to cultivate the land efficiently (ibid., 246).

Echoing this, Epstein (1962, 178 *passim*) stressed that it was not the diversification of the economy as such but 'the conversion of the subsistence into a cash economy' which was responsible for breaking up joint families and generally weakening wider kinship ties.

Rao (1968), in a study of the Ahir caste in Yadavpur village just outside Delhi, concluded that neither of these two hypotheses was justified. Thirty-five years after the transformation from a subsistence to a cash economy, 56.6% of the owner-cultivators' households were joint. Where partition had occurred, Rao argued, it seemed to be part of 'the normal process of the development sequence rather than as a result of intra-household competition in the wake of the introduction of a cash economy' (p. 102). Furthermore, 74.4% of joint households 'show occupational diversity of different kinds' (p. 106). Diversification might well indeed provide a fillip to joint household organisation; for those in employment outside the village it is very advantageous to have someone at home looking after their land while for those at home it is useful to have a cash earner outside.

Owens challenged the then widely prevalent Parsonian view that industrialisation required nuclear households as an adaptive measure to the needs of a mobile labour force. His evidence from Howrah suggested that strategies concerning joint household organisation varied widely:

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It was found that unless family members became partners or co-parseners in a business, entrepreneurs, whose incomes rapidly increased, tend to separate from rural joint families, because the amount of income they put into such families rapidly outpaces the economic advantages which they receive in return. Similarly, highly trained professionals, who can command high salaries, tend to separate from rural joint families; while industrial workers, whose income is much less, tend to remain within rural joint commensal families, or at least to continue to share in the coparsenary joint family (Owens, 1971,248).

At a more general level, Wiebe and Ramu have shown that modern urbanisation does not automatically break down traditional institutions. Their study of the Kolar Gold Fields, an urban, industrial centre in South India, concludes with the statement that people continue to 'participate in certain, relatively standardised kinds of ritual activities' and to 'identify themselves strongly with their jatis' (Wiebe and Ramu, 1975,15).

Finally, before I turn to my own data, mention should be made of Kolenda's comprehensive review of the literature on the Indian joint family in 1968 wherein she dispels a number of common assumptions. Along with Shah (1964;1974) who disputes the idea of a traditional past where the Indian joint family predominated, Kolenda shows that the majority of Indian households are nuclear in structure even if most people live in joint or supplemented nuclear families. While I shall indicate that there are certain problems with Kolenda's classifications, it seems clear that various forms of nuclear and intermediate households have always existed throughout India. Indeed this could hardly have been otherwise given the developmental cycle of household groups.

Kolenda also shows that there is no general correlation between caste status and the incidence of joint families although it tends to be lowest among untouchable castes. Perhaps more important than differences between castes are regional differences which reflect local customary laws: 'the greater the bargaining power of the wife vis-a-vis the husband, the earlier the split' (Abbi, 1969,124).

Before I look at the group of people who share a hearth in Dhulikhel, let me briefly describe the Newar house itself for the use of space within it is of crucial importance. Gerard Toffin has contributed considerably to this theme.² But there is a curious lacuna in Toffin's otherwise comprehensive studies of Newar society in that the structure of the joint household is almost completely ignored. His most recent collaborative book on the use of space in the ancient Newar town of Panauti only rectifies this a little. There are numerous evocative descriptions of the symbolism and ritual dimensions of household space and I shall quote at length in order to show just how significant it is

in the social life on Newars. First, however, let me include the only reference I can find to the composition of the group which occupies that space, though there is a later discussion of household partition:³

The house which we have just described is occupied by a single family, either nuclear or extended. In general, the words 'family' and 'house' mean the same thing for Newars; they are translated by chē (Newari) and ghar (Nepali). Several brothers, with their wives and children, may live there along with their (the brothers') parents. During the last few generations there has been an increasing tendency for brothers to separate from each other and to divide up the parental house (Toffin et al., 1981,100).

In fact, the final statement is highly contentious and I will argue from my data on Dhulikhel that the joint household has not significantly suffered in recent years. We are left then with the rather bald statement that a family may or may not consist of brothers and their wives living jointly with the brothers' parents. Contrast this with a concise and illuminating summary of the symbolic architecture of the house itself:

Inside this meaningful framework, where the hierarchical character of space regulates the disposition of places, activities and objects, a human history unfolds and intimate and everyday affairs take place. There are rooms reserved for gods and precious belongings, others for everyday domestic use or for socialising. These distinctions are many and crucial but nevertheless follow a relatively simple symbolic scheme. On the horizontal plane, the front side represents what is public, open, social and everyday while the back represents what is private or precious, the occasional and the hidden. On the vertical plane, the lower floors are linked with the world which is outside caste - animals, excrement and death; the higher floors are connected with ritual food, the divine and the sun. In household space, as in everything, in order to control the distribution of objects and living things with regard to their state of purity, one finds right valued over left, high over low, symmetry over disorder, male over female, senior over junior (ibid.,162).

These symbolic divisions of space are no mere intellectual constructions. They have a very real bearing on everyday social life. The top floor, reserved for household deities and the kitchen, is the most sacred space and access to it is therefore very restricted - usually to household members and very close relatives only. Using a similar principle, lower castes are only allowed to ascend to a certain storey - for clean castes usually the first floor where the main sitting room is

located. Unclean castes, i.e. those from whom water may not be accepted, are usually prevented from ascending above the ground floor, which is not a living space at all but is used for animals or storage, or for running a shop. Valuables, including cash, are kept firmly under lock and key, often in a special room in a strong metal safe and only the most senior members of the family will have a complete set of keys.

Privacy regarding the internal affairs of the household is strictly enforced. Visitors are prevented from entering the upper rooms and are strongly discouraged from coming at all after the evening meal (19.00-20.00) because this is the time for all the adult members of the household to sit down and discuss their affairs. This, as I shall show, is a matter of the utmost secrecy.

The composition of any particular household will of course vary from case to case depending on the developmental cycle of any particular family. But in general it can be said that the ideal is for a man to live with his wife, their children, and, if applicable, their sons' wives and their children. For sons to separate during their father's lifetime is strongly disapproved of but there is no material sanction against it. An adult son can demand partition and a share of the inheritance at any time and this will be supported by Nepali law. Nevertheless, it appears to be very rare and where it does happen, it is usually because the father has taken a second wife. By contrast, it is very common for brothers to partition shortly after the death of their father, often with the justifiable claim that their interests are not sufficiently harmonious to make a joint household practicable.

I had been warned that it would be difficult to elicit the precise reasons for division in any particular case because they often result, in the final instance, from deep personal tensions between brothers which they would be reluctant to admit to outsiders. In fact, when I commissioned a sample survey of 50 Dhulikhel Shrestha households, I got remarkably straight-forward answers. The following three questions were put:

- 1) When was the last time your household divided?
- 2) Who separated from whom?
- 3) What was the main reason for the split?

Sixteen households said they could not remember the last time they had divided. Of the remaining 34, 20 said that brothers had divided after the death of their father, and most candidly admitted that it was because of quarrels over land or money. In another case, the quarrel was between half-brothers (of different mothers) and in two cases between a man and his step-mother. Two other men said they had separated from their father because he had taken a second wife and only one had left his father with no mitigating excuse. Of the remaining seven cases, one was put down to the family becoming too big and the others to disputes among women - usually brothers' wives.

While these last two reasons are hypothetically given as the most usual reasons for separation, statistically they are relatively infrequent, and by far the majority of cases result from perceived inequality between brothers in either contributions to, or benefits from, living as a joint household. It is also highly significant that a third of all households reported no division in living memory. Brothers often do remain together and this accounts for the frequent cases of very large households (see tables below).

The house is first and foremost an economic unit and relations between its members stand in stark contrast to relations with non-household relatives, whether consanguines or affines. In the latter case there is never felt to be any economic component in the relationship which is sustained by a moral obligation based on kinship proximity. Nevertheless, in a certain sense the household is viewed literally as a corporation, where the 'managing directors' are the senior males and the others - women and children - are 'junior partners'.

An important distinction should be made here. 'Joint' household effectively refers to a collection of potential nuclear families plus, depending on the circumstances, additional members such as widowed mothers and unmarried daughters. Tension and potential fission is greatest between these nucleated units of husband and wife (or wives) along with their children and not within them. Inside the nucleated unit interests are felt to be common. It is inconceivable for a young unmarried man to opt out and set up on his own while divorce, initiated by either party, is very infrequent. It is thus relations between these units and not within them that are subject to the tensions brought about by financial considerations. This is not to say that a strong, affective bond of fraternity does not exist, but where adult brothers and their wives join together in one household, the arrangement is only likely to endure as long as it is felt to be mutually beneficial in a material sense.

Dhulikhel Shresthas are relatively wealthy in comparison with many other Newars and are particularly advantaged over the other ethnic groups in the surrounding villages - Brahmin/Chettri and Tamang. This economic superiority relies both on a much greater per capita ownership of land (particularly rice land) and a diversity of incomes from trade and professional occupations. One might expect that greater wealth, particularly when based on a highly mobile activity like trade, would create the potential for a higher degree of household fission (because each nucleated unit would have the resources to fend for itself). In fact, the correlation seems to go the other way and the reason is intimately connected with that cornerstone of capitalist philosophy: risk.

The bigger the joint family, the greater the economic diversity it can have and the less it is at risk if any one component fails - a bad harvest, a mistaken trading venture, the death of any individual income generator. And, of course, joint income becomes joint capital

which can be used to finance further ventures and so avoid the waste of manpower which is so conspicuous on a sunny day in the slack agricultural season when the streets are dotted with little groups of idle hands engaged in card playing. In Dhulikhel, the richest household, per capita, is often the largest.

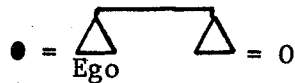
In order to facilitate comparison, I have adopted the twelve family types proposed by Kolenda (1968, 346-7). Rather than create separate categories for polygynous households, I have absorbed them into the existing types while making their incidence in each category clear. Thus a family consisting of one man with two wives and their children would be called simply a 'nuclear' family. Kolenda's types are as follows:

1. Nuclear family: a couple with or without unmarried children.
2. Supplemented nuclear family: a nuclear family plus one or more unmarried, separated, or widowed relatives of the parents, other than their unmarried children.
3. Subnuclear family: a fragment of a former nuclear family. Typical examples are the widow with unmarried children, or the widower with unmarried children, or siblings - whether unmarried, or widowed, separated, or divorced - living together.
4. Single-person household.
5. Supplemented sub-nuclear: a group of relatives, members of a formerly complete nuclear family, plus some other unmarried, divorced, or widowed relative who was not a member of the nuclear family. For example, a widow and her unmarried children plus her widowed mother-in-law.
6. Collateral joint family: two or more married couples between whom there is a sibling bond - usually a brother-brother relationship - plus unmarried children.
7. Supplemented collateral joint family: a collateral joint family plus unmarried, divorced, or widowed relatives. Typically, such supplemental relatives are the widowed mother of the married brothers, or the widowed father, or an unmarried sibling.
8. Lineal joint family: two couples between whom there is a lineal link, usually between parents and married son, sometimes between parents and married daughter. (I assume this includes the unmarried children of either couple. In Dhulikhel it never happens that a man lives with his wife in her parents' house - as a ghar juwai as it is called in Nepali.)

9. Supplemented lineal joint family: a lineal joint family plus unmarried, divorced, or widowed relatives who do not belong to either of the lineally linked nuclear families; for example, the father's widower brother or the son's wife's unmarried brother.
10. Lineal-collateral joint family: three or more couples linked lineally and collaterally. Typically, parents and their two or more married sons, plus the unmarried children of the three or more married couples.
11. Supplemented lineal-collateral joint family: a lineal-collateral joint family plus unmarried, widowed, separated relatives who belong to none of the nuclear families lineally and collaterally linked; for example, the father's widowed sister or brother, or an unmarried nephew of the father.
12. Other.

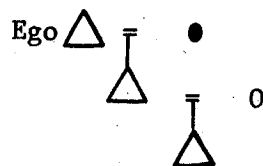
It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that these categories can sometimes be misleading. Consider the following examples. (The conventional abbreviations have been employed for kinship terms, viz. B-brother, D-daughter, e-elder, F-father, H-husband, M-mother, S-son, W-wife, y-younger, Z-sister. Thus FeZH denotes father's elder sister's husband.)

Figure 1 One type of 'supplemented nuclear family'



Here Ego is a widower living with his yB, yBW and yBS. According to Kolenda's schema this is a 'supplemented nuclear family'. But it might be more accurate to represent it as a 'sub' collateral joint family - i.e. one which has lost one of its members, namely Ego's wife.

Figure 2 A second type of 'supplemented nuclear family'



In this case Ego is again a widower, this time living with his son, SW and SS. Kolenda would again classify this as 'supplemented nuclear' but given that sons rarely partition from their fathers, it might be more appropriately termed 'sub lineal joint' - if we had such a category.

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Given these qualifications to Kolenda's classifications, here is how a sample of 372 Dhulikhel Shrestha households breaks down. Apart from the Kasai, the numbers of households for other castes in Dhulikhel is too small to be statistically significant. For the sake of (a somewhat arbitrary) comparison I include Parry's figures for the Rajputs of Kangra.

Table 1

Household composition of Dhulikhel castes

	Shrestha	Polygynous h / holds	Kasai	Kangra Rajput
Nuclear	87	10	18	75
Supplemented nuclear	58	8	3	31
Subnuclear	10	-	4	19
Single-person	8	-	1	11
Supplemented subnuclear	6	1	2	2
Collateral joint	19	2	-	9
Supplemented collateral joint	37	4	1	17
Lineal joint	59	2	3	12
Supplemented lineal joint	12	1	2	3
Lineal-collateral joint	45	6	3	14
Supplemented lineal-collateral joint	30	8	-	3
Other ⁴	1	-	-	2
Total	372	42	37	198

Though the total sample of Kasai households (37) is small, the contrast with the Shrestha family types is striking. Indeed the percentage of joint and nuclear families is inverted in the two cases. With the Shresthas, approximately half of all households are joint and one quarter nuclear; with the Kasai this picture is reversed. The following table shows this more clearly. 'Nuclear' families refers only to category 1. 'Joint' means categories 6-11 inclusive and 'other' comprises categories 2-5 plus category 12.

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Table 2Summary table of household composition

	Shrestha	Kasai	Kangra Rajput
Nuclear	23.4%(87)	48.6%(18)	37.9%(75)
Joint	54.3%(202)	24.3%(9)	29.3%(58)
Other	22.3%(83)	27.0%(10)	32.8%(65)
Total:	100.0%(372)	99.9%(37)	100.0%(198)

It can immediately be seen that the percentage of Shresthas living in some kind of joint family is very high. If one considers the numbers of people living in these households, the position is even more striking (these figures are not given for the Rajputs).

Table 3Numbers of people living in different types of household

	Shrestha	Kasai
Nuclear	456	86
Supplemented nuclear	395	10
Subnuclear	39	10
Single-person	8	1
Supplemented subnuclear	34	13
Collateral joint	238	-
Supplemented collateral joint	533	10
Lineal joint	537	20
Supplemented lineal joint	120	18
Lineal-collateral joint	722	38
Supplemented lineal-collateral joint	670	-
Other	2	-
Total:	3,754	206

If we summarize these figures into the three previous categories of nuclear, joint and 'other', the following picture emerges.

Table 4

Summary table of numbers of people living in different types of household

	Shrestha	Kasāī
Nuclear	12.1%(456)	41.7%(86)
Joint	75.1%(2,280)	41.7%(86)
Other	12.7%(478)	16.5%(34)
Total:	99.9%(3,754)	99.9%(206)

It can thus be seen that three quarters of Shresthas live in some kind of joint household and one can assume that many in categories 2 and 5 belong to households which were previously joint but, because of the developmental cycle, have lost some of their members. The 'ideal' of joint living is then statistically the norm. I have no hesitation in stating that the higher incidence of joint families among Shresthas is due simply to their greater wealth, though complete lack of cooperation in this field means that I am unable to back up this assertion with reliable figures.⁵ G.S. Nepali grades families only by the numbers of people in them. However he also states that:

Whenever the financial position is good, a Newar is inclined to live in the traditional type of joint family ... The more common pattern of household at present seems to be that which consists of a man, his wife, his unmarried daughters and several of his married sons with their wives and children (Nepali, 1965,252).

Let me now turn to what it means to live in a joint household. A large number of Dhulikhel people - i.e people who consider themselves as belonging to joint families there - are often absent for long periods. It is difficult to estimate the percentage of Kasāī who work outside because they tend to do so on a seasonal basis, during the winter when they work in brick factories in the Kathmandu Valley. This is because there is not enough labouring work to be found locally in the slack agricultural season. My estimate is that about half of all Kasāī households send one or more members out for three or four months a year to earn money in that way.

The figures I have for Shresthas are much more precise but should be looked at carefully. The majority of Shrestha adults working outside are engaged in trade with a very small minority employed in salaried positions - as teachers, government officials or other professionals. If an adult man goes out for any length of time he will have to decide whether to bring his wife and/or children with him. This choice is

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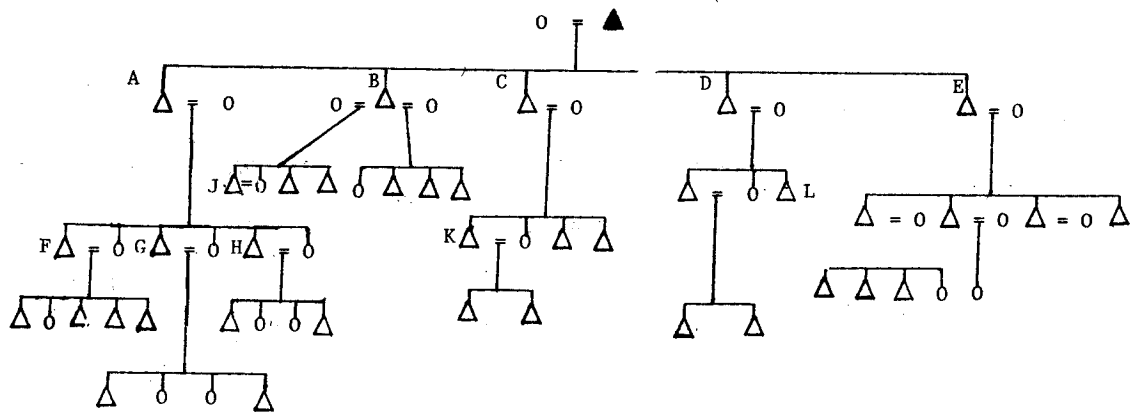


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constrained by a number of factors. The first of these is whether there is someone left behind to maintain a household in Dhulikhel. This has two aspects: the practical one of ensuring that the house itself is secure and the social one of ensuring that a family representative is available for certain ritual occasions. A second constraint is the financial one since it is inevitably more expensive to transport and house one's family in a second place of residence. These two constraints may well be subsumed under a third - the dictate of other adult members of the joint family, if there is one. Before I move on to the statistical incidence of working outside, let me give a brief description of what is in many respects the model Dhulikhel household. It is the model only in a very ideal way. It is the largest and certainly one of the richest and is therefore exceptional. But precisely because of this one can see just how complicated a joint family can be - the diversity of incomes and occupations which it has to control - and still function extremely effectively. The kinship diagram below shows the structure of the household.

Figure 6: Kinship diagram of Dhulikhel's largest household



At the time of my fieldwork there were 63 people sharing one kitchen. The oldest member of the family is a widow about 80 years old. Her first son (A), now in his sixties, is the household head. All of the adult males have responsibility for a particular speciality. Thus A is both household head and is responsible for managing all of the lands owned, the supervision of hiring labour for harvesting, planting, and so on. B runs a cloth shop in Dhulikhel and in this he is aided by all his children, particularly J, who works there full time. The other children of B attend school but help out in the shop after school hours.

C runs a stationery shop, again in Dhulikhel, and in this he is assisted by one married son (L) and until recently by H, third son of the eldest brother. Not long before I left in 1982, it was decided that H should set up a wholesale stationery business in Kathmandu and

he seemed, within a very short period, to be doing this successfully. D and E both run cloth shops outside Dhulikhel though in different places. While D has his wife and children with him, E's wife is in Dhulikhel.

F is perhaps the most dynamic and successful personality in the town. Though only in his 30's, he runs a very prosperous tourist lodge in Dhulikhel, is about to open a small up-market hotel nearby, and previously ran a language school in Kathmandu teaching Nepali to foreigners. He is one of the prominent political figures in the town and has made several 'successful efforts to raise funds to build local schools and attract both German and American organisations to consider spending 'development money' there. Finally, G is a very successful building contractor and has been awarded a contract for a section of road being built by the British in the far east of the country.

The way in which money has been invested is thus very diverse and it is precisely this feature - the investment spread - which accounts for the size of the family. Fortunately all of the businesses have been successful but there have been risky moments. Contracting, for example, is rife with corruption and theft of materials though it must be said that it is rarely the contractor who comes off worst. One of my Dhulikhel neighbours had 'retired' in his thirties after being one of the main contractors on the Kodari highway built in the 1960s. Opening the lodge was however a big risk because it involved spending a considerable amount of money on the building and there was no precedent to show whether tourists would want to stay overnight in Dhulikhel. Similarly, the wholesale stationery business, begun in league with a Marwari (who could exploit Indian wholesale contacts), was a relatively unexplored venture. However, with long experience in retailing stationery, they had some idea of what was involved.

In this household each of the mature adults has a particular financial concern to manage. But he is not left entirely to his own devices. Every evening the senior male members of the household meet - i.e. those among A-E who are at home and the older brothers in the next generation. These daily meetings are very private affairs and, where money is to be discussed, wives and junior males will be excluded from attending them.

The purpose of these daily meetings is to review the problems of the household. Someone, for example, may propose a new venture for discussion or a decision may have to be reached about someone's continuing education and the expense involved. (Another member of this family (K) is training to be a doctor in Europe.) Secrecy is maintained, even from women and junior males, so that financial plans may not be subverted or preempted. A decision to open a shop in a particular bazaar may, for example, prompt another household to do the same and so steal the march on their competitors.

These meetings are also the forum for doing the accounts. Each 'partner' or 'manager' is expected to declare his income honestly and to try to the best of his ability to make a success of his particular interest. In this household someone without entrepreneurial flair would be given a less demanding job - e.g. as a cashier in one of the shops. At the nightly meetings written accounts must be produced on demand for all to inspect, praise or criticize. If profits seem low, the others will take the person responsible to task. There is a short honeymoon period at the beginning of a new venture but otherwise there are few concessions for failure.

A by-product of this daily accountability is that a continual record of everyone's income is kept and extravagant spending would be quickly noticed and checked. I was never able to get very satisfactory answers on the extent to which any household member was entitled to withhold money for his own expenses - e.g. for clothes for himself, his wife and children, transport, meals outside, cigarettes. What is said is that all money should be pooled except that which is really individually needed. Some households tend to buy clothes for everyone at once precisely to avoid disputes about favouritism. However, I do know of cases where money is withheld - in one instance at least Rs 8,000 in one year. It is of course the suspicion that this is happening which is often the cause of partition and certain circumstances make deception easy - particularly working outside. In spite of this, as I have shown, joint households do survive.

There is no fixed optimal size for a joint household but I was told that it was becoming increasingly difficult to manage this family under one roof. It is probably the case that this is more true of the women's domain, domestic work. Cooking or washing clothes for sixty people is a huge operation relying on a frictionless division of labour. It was believed that this household would inevitably divide after the death of the old mother. Each of the five senior brothers (A-E) would then form a separate household with his sons and grandchildren. An inventory would be made of all their assets and these would then be equally distributed among the five brothers with each keeping the business he managed.

The family thought that this would be relatively unproblematic since it is easy to estimate the approximate worth of any particular business. The only difficulty might be in terms of rescheduling loans which had been allocated for the development of a particular section of the family's affairs. The division of land is also said to be straightforward but a brother who ends up with poorer quality fields should be compensated in cash or by giving him a greater quantity than the others so that yields are approximately equal.

Dividing the house itself is probably the most difficult aspect of partition since it may mean new staircases, building an extension, or even a new house. The choice will depend on how much space is available and what they can afford to do. Generally, brothers who have

split will continue, if at all possible, to live next door to each other and, indeed, an area of the town is often popularly referred to by the name of the numerically dominant lineage living there.

Sons inherit equally from their fathers irrespective of the number of grandsons. As a rule, women do not inherit anything but a widow without sons will hold on to her husband's property during her lifetime and has the right to sell it. On her death, it will pass to her husband's agnates. I was told that an unmarried daughter of the age of thirty-five or more would have an equal claim on the inheritance as her brothers (which is the correct legal position).⁶ But I know of no situation where such a claim has been pressed and the few unmarried women that there are live as members of a brother's household which does not thereby gain a larger share of the paternal property. In the end, all disputes about property are subject to Nepali law but my impression is that the courts are very rarely resorted to.

What about the position of women in the joint family? I have already mentioned that women are excluded from the daily family meetings if financial affairs are to be discussed. Decisions about non-financial matters - e.g. marriages and feasts - will usually involve some of the senior women of the household as well. The vast majority of marriages are still arranged after discussions between the girl's/boy's parents and other senior members of the household. On both sides they will want to know that the other spouse comes from a 'good home' so that the girl will not have too much difficulty in adjusting to her new environment.

Senior women are normally due a certain amount of respect from junior household males but a woman is never the formal household head. Still, a widow, if she is a forceful personality, may be able to exert considerable authority over her sons. In the family which I have described, the old woman plays an important role in keeping her sons together and in deciding on suitable spouses for her grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Within the same generation, and throughout their lives, women are considered inferior to men whom they must respect. Every morning a wife is expected to bow down to the feet of her husband and to both his parents. It is said that she should be prepared to drink the water with which she has washed the feet of her husband (New. tuti silā la: twane) although I think this never actually happens. If her husband has elder brothers living in the household, she should also bhāge yāye (New. to bow down in respect) to them and to their wives even if the latter are junior to her in age. In general, respect is a function of both sex and seniority; where the latter, generation takes precedence over age if there is any conflict. Thus a man could be older than his father's brother but would, on certain ritual occasions, have to defer to him.

There is a strict sexual division of labour. Men are charged with all affairs where money is concerned, including shopping for daily commodities. Women's work is almost wholly confined to domestic and

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agricultural chores. Where women assist their husbands in running shops, this is much more likely to occur when they are not part of a large joint household. Women rarely have more than a few rupees in their purses. However, the seniormost woman of a joint household has considerable power over the other women. It is she who will decide on the daily roster of duties and, if she is to maintain a harmonious household, she will have to ensure that they are equally distributed. Women's work is generally much more physically demanding than men's. (Of course this is not true of all Newar castes - farmers, oilpressers, blacksmiths.) Firstly water will have to be carried from the nearest public tap in large bronze pots which are very heavy when full. This water is for cooking and consumption only. Personal washing is done publicly at the tap or nearby springs while laundry is done by women at a stream just to the south of the town.

Women do all of the other household chores - cooking, cleaning, looking after children - and most of the agricultural work in the slack season such as weeding or breaking up the soil before planting. (Wage labour is employed at peak periods and the Kasai are paid to do the work of transporting manure to the fields. Other Dhulikhel Shresthas are never employed.) Women also winnow and sort grains and on most sunny days they will put chillies out to dry on large straw mats which they have woven. Men, by contrast, are responsible for husking for then the grains will have to be brought to the mill and the service paid for. In the few houses which have handlooms, it is women who do the weaving. Children are socialised early into their respective sex roles. And while it is tempting to date sexual segregation from ceremonies of initiation into adulthood, these provide ritual markers for a de facto situation which already exists.

Relations within the joint household are then of two kinds. Those within the potential nucleated unit are characterised by an uneasy peace which depends on mutual trust, not only among brothers, but also among their wives. While envy is sometimes cited as a reason for dissension among women, because one brother pays more attention, or gives more lavish gifts, to his wife, this is probably exaggerated and used as a convenient prop for disputes among brothers themselves. However, I have been told that women who come from wealthy households will often be proud and less willing to undertake demeaning work than their poorer husband's brother's wife. Conflict among women should not therefore be disregarded altogether. Within the potential nucleated units relations are built both on a perceived maximum commonality of interest and a respect for the authority of the husband or father.

The Hindu joint family has previously been likened to a corporation and the comparison in the Newar case is, I believe, apt. I do not have enough information from other studies on the Newars to be able to say whether the Dhulikhel Shrestha household organisation is typical of Newars in general but, on the basis of others' accounts and on my own superficial experience of other castes in the Kathmandu Valley, I have no reason to believe that it is not. In developing the simile of the corporation, I would nevertheless draw a distinction between the model which Singer devises and that operative in Dhulikhel. Singer argues

that there is a separation between ownership and authority and that the latter, in the final analysis, rests solely with the household head.

Controlling authority in the Indian joint family resides in the family head or manager, usually the father or eldest male. He makes the major decisions on all important questions, including the disposition of joint family property. Generally he is expected to consult other members of the family, but his decisions are supposed to be binding on all once made... The relationship of the manager of a joint family to the co-parceners and other family members is thus analogous to the relationship of the managing director of a company to its board of directors and stockholders. In each case there is a separation of ownership from control. The controlling authority does not necessarily own a major portion of the shares but has the major responsibility for making major policy decisions on the affairs of the group with due consultation. And in each case the maintenance of an undivided, expanding organisation depends on the decision-making abilities of the manager and the acceptance of his authority by the 'owners' (Singer, 1968,440).

In the cases which I have examined, this is clearly not so (and I am inclined to believe that Singer overestimates the power of a managing director in a company over his board). In Dhulikhel's families, the 'board' consists minimally of all adult males of the oldest generation and possibly some of their male children if they have been invested with important household responsibilities. While the 'managing director' is the household head, and while his decisions are, in the final analysis, binding, his is far from being an unbridled authority. On the contrary, his authority derives from the consensus of other household male elders and is tempered by the knowledge that they will demand partition should they find his decisions consistently unpalatable.

The major inequalities that exist are between elder males and junior males and between men and women. One 35 year old man I knew well had been struggling in vain for almost twenty years to improve his education. His father and paternal uncles had always insisted that he should devote his time and energies to managing one of the family shops and since he did not want to flout their authority, he had always complied. Ambivalence about the merits of the joint family system seems to be greater among young people. Understandably parents do not want to lose the support of their children in their old age. For young people, the constraints imposed upon them by elders, whom they are continually reminded they should respect, makes the system less attractive. This does not seem to me to be merely a question of the encroachment of Western individualistic values or the opening up of new economic opportunities in recent years, though it is not unreasonable to suggest that

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they do not ease tensions for today's youth. I am fairly confident that the basic problem is the lack of choice open to younger people generally, whether of this generation or previous ones.

Apart from the ideal of joint living (i.e. two or more conjugal units sharing one hearth and common property) it is virtually unimaginable for a single person to set up a household on his or her own. Simply in terms of labour requirements this would be impractical unless one could afford servants (a small number are employed for menial domestic and agricultural work in Dhulikhel). But it is not merely a question of viability in terms of labour. A young woman on her own would be regarded as a prostitute or as good as. A young man would be thought socially and sexually incomplete. It is not just unsatisfied sexual desire which is feared. The person living alone is a social anomaly and often stands outside the full pale of society. There are only eight recorded cases of single-person households among Dhulikhel Shresthas and nearly all are old widows. An individual is only thought of as a complete social being when he or she belongs to a family, whether nuclear or joint.

Let me now turn to those members of Dhulikhel joint families who are living outside. The following table shows, for each family type, the number of adult men (over 16) who are living elsewhere than Dhulikhel.

Table 5

Nos. of Shrestha adult men from each family type employed outside

	Nil	1	2	3	4	>4
Nuclear	51	28	8	-	-	-
Supplemented nuclear	21	29	8	-	-	-
Subnuclear	6	3	1	-	-	-
Single-person	8	-	-	-	-	-
Supplemented subnuclear	4	1	1	-	-	-
Collateral joint	4	8	5	1	1	-
Supplemented collateral joint	9	7	15	5	1	-
Lineal joint	13	23	18	5	-	-
Supplemented lineal joint	2	4	4	1	1	-
Lineal-collateral joint	6	12	8	11	4	4
Supplemented lineal-collateral joint	2	5	8	6	1	8
Other	1	-	-	-	-	-

For joint families these figures may be summarised as follows:

Table 6

Nos. of Shrestha men in joint families living outside Dhulikhel

	Nil	1	2	3	4	>4
All joint (202)	36	59	58	29	8	12

These two tables show clearly what Parry found also in Kangra:

Not only do these figures seem to contradict Bailey's argument that outside employment is incompatible with joint living, but they also seem to suggest that precisely the reverse is true, and that many households would not be joint were it not for the fact that they have men employed outside (Parry, 1979, 182).

In Dhulikhel some 82% of Shrestha joint households send at least one member outside while 53% send two or more. My figures include a small number of young adults who are studying outside. I have included them because (a) they are thus lost to the labour pool of the household in Dhulikhel and (b) they are almost always with their parents or an older brother who is running a shop in which they work part-time. The figures do not include the two or three unmarried women working outside nor, of course, do they show the extent to which traders are accompanied by their wives and children, which is in fact fairly considerable.

It might be objected that a man trading and living with his wife and children in, say, Dharan in the east has effectively cut his ties with his Dhulikhel joint family and established a new nuclear family. After all, he will to all intents and purposes have full control over his income and expenditure. He may even own lands locally in order to avoid the expense of buying rice in the bazaar or the inconvenience of transporting it from Dhulikhel. Nevertheless, I was persuaded that such a man would nearly always continue to contribute periodically to the joint household pool. This is partly, but not simply, because his share of the inheritance depends on it. I am sure there are many cases where the economic advantage is non-existent and I know of examples (in the nature of the evidence, at second remove) where households living comfortably at a distance have cut themselves off from their Dhulikhel kin.

But such cases are rare: usually the link is not broken because it is through it that one's caste and lineage identity are constructed. Dhulikhel Shresthas almost always marry other Dhulikhel Shresthas. In the new bazaars one's potential affines are therefore restricted to other

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Dhulikhel emigrés. It is usually more practical, if one is to contract a proper, caste-approved marriage, to actually return to Dhulikhel. It is impossible to say if, in time, new marriage networks will be built up in the trading posts. It depends on too many unknown variables - particularly the endurance of any one market-place.

What differences are there in the life of emigré traders and those who stay behind in Dhulikhel? I have visited only those bazaars which are within relatively easy striking distance of Dhulikhel - along the Kodari highway and on the new road being built by the Swiss east from Lamosango to Jiri. Nevertheless, a number of common features emerged from interviews with various Dhulikhel traders. The initial choice of location is based on one sole criterion: profit. It does not depend on the prior location of relatives though it is often influenced by the success or failure of other Dhulikhel merchants. If one family is seen to be doing well, others may decide to move to the same bazaar. There is basically no economic cooperation between Dhulikhel households, however closely related. There is no pooling of incomes to buy more cheaply in bulk from wholesalers. One does not even use Dhulikhel wholesalers - a better deal can usually be found with Marwaris in Kathmandu. It is crucially important that there is no economic network of kinsmen.

The copycat principle means that Dhulikhel traders tend to be concentrated in a relatively small number of places, though these comprise virtually all of the important bazaars in eastern Nepal. Along the Kodari highway these are Dolalghat, Lamosango, Barabise and Kodari; Charikot and Jiri have become very popular in the last two years with the building of the new Swiss road. Further east, Ramechap, Okhaldunga, Bhojpur and Dharan are the preferred sites for Dhulikhel merchants. As a rule Newars dislike the extreme climates found outside the middle hills of Nepal but recently some Dhulikhel traders have begun to venture south to Chitwan and Birganj.

These bazaars differ from Dhulikhel in a number of respects. Firstly, they tend to contain virtually only shops and offices: everyone living there is in either business or service. While Dhulikhel is also an important commercial and administrative centre (as the District H.Q. of Kavre Palanchok), cultivation of the surrounding land is usually portrayed locally as their most important economic activity. While Dhulikhel plays host to the full range of social and ritual activity of the Newar calendar, the bazaars outside tend to display very little activity of any kind outside of business. Shops are open from 6a.m. to 9p.m. and, if from Dhulikhel, there are usually only two or three people working there, members of the same joint household. Managers or shop assistants from outside the family are virtually never employed because they cannot be trusted.

Even though many of these bazaars are very well established, they are almost always viewed as temporary homes for the Dhulikhel traders. Houses and shops are rented rather than owned and, unless one is a very long way from Dhulikhel, land is rarely bought. There is no local guthi

system; Dhulikhel shopkeepers belong to guthis in their home town. Neither are any life-cycle rituals performed there: these too are done at home. In Lamosango the only formal association was a traders' organisation which tried, unsuccessfully, to fix prices and ease competition.

Even those who have been trading in the same place for many years seem to have no loyalties there. This is due to one simple factor: the building of new roads. Since the early 1960s Lamosango had been an important bazaar for people living as far away as Namche Bazaar. By 1982 the new Swiss road stretched east from Lamosango to just past Charikot. Within two years, business in Lamosango had declined by 50%, a number of shops had closed and many traders had moved or were contemplating moving to Charikot.

If there is one single point about the Dhulikhel Shrestha household which I would stress, it is its financial autonomy from others. I know of only one case where two Dhulikhel traders from different families (they are not related) own a common shop - interestingly one of the most profitable in the town. But secrecy about finance being what it was, I could never get any detailed information on how or why they cooperated. In general, each household stands alone. Kinsmen or other Dhulikhel traders with similar businesses or wholesale outlets are not approached in favour of some other, more anonymous dealer. As a rule one avoids other Dhulikhel people in any matter to do with business. There is no network of aid or contacts between kin or neighbours. If Dhulikhel shopkeepers outside tend to cluster together, this is simply because it is preferable to have as a neighbour someone you already know rather than a complete stranger.

This idea of household autonomy extends outwards as well as inwards. There is no ethic that one has a moral obligation to financially help one's kinsmen or neighbours. Indeed one family, whose close agnatic relatives are among the richest in the town, has taken to begging as its sole means of income after falling on hard times. If one seeks a loan, it is to the bank rather than to relatives that one turns. If one is poor, too bad. I have seen a very poor Shrestha man humiliated to the verge of tears by his wealthier neighbours who taunted him with jibes that they would, as wedding gifts, buy underwear for his wife.

Dhulikhel's household independence seems to be a consequence of its cash economy. Most Shrestha households have both enough land and cash income to be self-supporting. At peak agricultural periods they can afford to hire wage labour - usually from among the surrounding Tamang and Brahmin/Chetri villages. These relationships are purely economic; there is no notion that the same set of labourers must be hired every year though it is likely that the same households or hamlets will be approached simply because of familiarity.

A number of Dhulikhel households might be thought to be big enough to provide their own labour even in times of scarcity. (The average

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household size is 10.26, ranging from single-person households to a high of sixty-three.) There are two reasons why they rarely do. Firstly, most Dhulikhel Shresthas of any means will already be engaged in something else - as traders, or, for younger people, as students at school or college. Secondly, actual physical work is demeaning and it is preferable for someone else to do it if it is at all possible. It is common to see a Dhulikhel Shrestha standing on a rice bank in fine clothes, his trouser legs slightly rolled up in order to avoid mud splashes, issuing directives to a team of labourers below him.

The opprobrium which attaches to manual work also means that any exchange of labour between households, whether institution-alised or on an ad hoc basis, is ruled out. One qualification to this picture must be made. I know of some wealthy Shresthas who do work in the fields but it is clear to everyone that they do this because they prefer to work rather than be idle, and for this Protestant ethic they earn the somewhat bewildered admiration of others. Unsurprisingly, this eagerness for physical work is not widely shared by the younger generation. I was once brought by a thirty year old dandy to see a curiosity in the maize field - his eighty year old father working strenuously as he did every day.

Lack of cooperation between households is not a universal feature of Newars, as I shall now illustrate, but from the evidence of other ethnographies it is difficult to measure the exact degree of household autonomy elsewhere. The best documented Newar settlement is undoubtedly Pyangaon - a small, monocaste, agricultural village in the south of the Kathmandu Valley. Yet Toffin's (1977, *passim*) description of the material life and economy of the village tells us little about the functioning of individual households. What is clear is that there is a degree of economic cooperation unknown in Dhulikhel.

This seems to reflect the fact that Dhulikhel's economy is highly monetized with labour being bought and sold rather than exchanged, while the reverse is true in Pyangaon. In the former, most households have a considerable cash income, usually from trade and sometimes supplemented by salaries. By contrast, the inhabitants of Pyangaon are mostly farmers with very little cash income. Whereas in Dhulikhel labourers are hired by the day and usually come from outside, most often from other ethnic groups, Pyangaon's much less monetised economy demands a reciprocity of labour between kinsmen and neighbours. Toffin's description ends in assigning the lineage with economic powers that are completely absent in the financially atomised world of Dhulikhel traders:

... in the sphere of economics, there is daily cooperation. Together lineage members build their houses, transplant and harvest rice; together they thresh and husk grains. All decisions affecting the group are taken together; the maintenance and repair of irrigation canals as well as the payments in grains or cash that are made to the barbers, butchers,

musicians etc. The lineage, the smallest unit of kinship, regulates a fair amount of economic and social relations in the village (Toffin, 1977, 42).

This intra-lineage cooperation is obviously in marked contrast to Dhulikhel. At the same time, it would seem that Pyangaon's households do have a certain measure of autonomy though it is difficult to gauge its extent. The fact remains, for Pyangaon as for Dhulikhel, that the smallest kinship unit is not the lineage but the household. And one can infer from other references in Toffin's study that work groups (New. bolā jyā) are formed on an ad hoc basis and are always centred around a core from one joint household.

These groups are temporary; they are formed to carry out a precise task, and dissolve immediately afterwards. They are united above all by kinship links. The nucleus of the team is composed of young people who belong to the same patrilineage; added to this nucleus are friends or relatives by marriage (ibid., 92).

But, while the composition of such groups is constantly changing, depending on the nature of the work involved, cooperation at the household level is constant and immutable. 'In the case given above, the fundamental nucleus, of those who always worked together, was reduced to two people: Purna and his elder brother' (ibid., 93). Sadly Toffin gives little space to the joint household and one is left to very occasional references to establish that it has a separate identity at all. Nevertheless, these references are revealing. We are told that boiled rice may only be eaten 'with one's family, at home' (ibid., 134) and that 'For the Newars, the house is, above all, a social and cultural unit which is defined by the family group living there' (ibid., 137).

This picture of agricultural cooperation is further illuminated by Ishii's account of 'Satepa' - a mixed caste Newar village in the west of the Valley. It is dominated by Jyāpus and Shresthas who respectively accounted for 100 and 63 households out of a total of 194 in 1970. Ishii shows how, even in the short space of eight years (1970-78), the nature of cooperation in work groups (here simply called bolā) had changed dramatically and it is clear that the primary reason is the absorption of Satepa into a wider cash economy. He describes bolā thus:

Traditionally, bolā was the most popular way of recruiting labour. It is a system of labour exchange in which a certain amount of labour is reciprocated by the equivalent amount of labour (Ishii, 1980, 170).

Ishii says that there are two types of bolā group, one 'structured', the other 'unstructured'. The latter is a temporary agreement between two or more neighbours producing no lasting arrangements. The former, which may involve ten or more, usually men, is more formal and participants are obliged to 'rotate work in each member's field' (ibid.). The

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penalty for failing to turn up is a cash payment equal to a labourer's wage for the amount of work missed. Such a group can last for a whole season or, if they remain on good terms, longer, but there is no obligation to do so. The 'structured' bolā is similarly composed of neighbours and friends though often organised by a core of patrilineal kinsmen. 'But it is not obligatory for patrilineal kin to practise bolā together' (ibid.).

As with Pyangaon, it is clear that relations are between households (and not of course between individuals) but again we learn little of the internal composition or management of the household. It should be noted that Ishii refers to a second kind of labour exchange in Satepa which has no Dhulikhel equivalent either. Called gwāli (which in Newari simply means 'help'), it is

an offer of labour in return for which no direct compensation is expected... often practised among affines living in different villages... more frequently given by married out daughters, accompanied by their husbands and children, when she visits her parents' household (ibid., 171).

Ishii argues that both types of labour exchange have declined rapidly in recent years. This is both because Satepa residents have been attracted to salaried occupations in Kathmandu, and because the Pokhara highway, which passes near the village, has brought in labourers from outside the Valley. It has already become a matter of prestige to pay labourers rather than resort to bolā or gwāli type arrangements.

As I have made clear, nothing of this kind exists in Dhulikhel or, to the best of my knowledge, has existed there in the past; though of course it could have. An arrangement such as gwāli, in any formal sense, would be almost inconceivable in Dhulikhel where relations between affines tend to be characterised by extreme formality verging on avoidance. Nevertheless, it is true that a son-in-law often accompanies his wife to her parents' home when some misfortune such as illness has occurred, and his presence is obligatory at the funeral procession of any member of his wife's natal household.

Toffin has also worked among a small artisan caste who operate a guild-like association and there is now sufficient evidence to show that artisan and service castes, including priests, do not simply allow free competition among individual households. This seems to be less true than formerly but I will briefly present Toffin's evidence (see Toffin, 1975). The Citrakār painter caste number some 220 households in the four main Valley towns: Kathmandu, Patan, Bhaktapur and Thimi. They have two main kinds of guthi a śi guthi which is similar to the death associations found in Dhulikhel and elsewhere, and a deśla guthi from deś (Nep. country, locality). There are a number of different types of guthi associations among Newars and membership in some is voluntary, in others obligatory. Usually they have a religious or welfare purpose such as worship of a particular deity or the cremation of members of the

association. We are told that the Citrakār deśla guthi comprises all the caste members of a particular town and has a hierarchical structure with the five seniormost men acting as leaders.

While this guthi has some (unspecified) assets, its operations are essentially maintained by annual contributions from individual members of Rs 25-30. Toffin ascribes two main functions to the deśla guthi. The first is to strictly enforce caste endogamy with the sanction of excommunication for those who default. The second is 'to regulate economic competition among its members and to share out the clientele in the locality' (Toffin, 1975, 219). This 'corporatism' is further extended by granting low interest loans to members in need, whether because of personal misfortune or for investment in equipment and materials.

One is really talking about a corporation, with all the social, economic and political implications that this entails. The deśla guthi is a corporate association which maintains the unity and solidarity of the caste at the local level (ibid., 219).

However, Toffin goes on to say that in Patan and Kathmandu, because of recent demographic and economic changes, these organisations have all but disappeared, and the implication is that their existence was particularly relevant to the situation where caste and occupation were closely correlated. He draws our attention to the existence of similar organisations among the Gubhāju Buddhist priests in Kathmandu (see Rosser, 1966) and to the oil pressers of Khokana, a large village to the south-west of Patan.

I shall return to these differences between Dhulikhel Shresthas and other Newar castes shortly but first I would like to make some general comments both on the nature of the Shrestha household and the way they go about trade. One aspect which may seem odd is the lack of cooperation and the absence of trading networks in markets outside of Dhulikhel. It is difficult to say why this should be so: my informants themselves took it for granted. The simplest reason seems to be competition. As a rule, Dhulikhel shopkeepers are dealing in the same commodities as each other - cloth and everyday household items - and success depends on exploiting a piece of the market before someone else can reach it. In practical terms this almost always means location. Two shops, though only twenty metres apart, may have widely different fortunes if one is more visible than another or nearer a main road or a crossroads.

This absence of cooperation between households is by no means unique to Newar traders. The Muslim traders of Modjukoto described by Geertz in Peddlers and Princes go even further:

A man and his brother, a son and his father, even a wife and her husband will commonly operate on their own at the bazaar and regard one another within that

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context with nearly as cold an eye as they would any other trader... in general, traders are nearly unanimous in emphasising that relatives prefer to operate independently in the pasar and that non-economic ties of any sort ought not to have important effects on the conduct of commerce (Geertz, 1963, 46-7).

Dhulikhel traders set the limit for independence at the household rather than the individual but it is clear that the principle is identical to that of Modjukoto: the morality of commerce and the morality of kinship are different and should be kept apart. Within a joint household this is impossible and it is the strain between the two 'moral spheres' which eventually cause partition. Loyalty to those within one's own conjugal unit supercede loyalties to the 'corporation' of the joint family unless the two are demonstrably harmonious.

But the fact remains that it usually is more advantageous for a trader to belong to a joint family because he can then pursue a specialised activity while relying on the collective resources - land, capital and labour - of the household. In this they are similar to one of the other best-known trading groups of South Asia, the Marwaris, who are prominent in the merchant community of Kathmandu as they are in most Indian cities and who provide:

an outstanding example of the obdurate continuance of the joint family and caste-system in spite of industrialisation, technocracy and Western education and in some respects, rather because of them (Agarwala, 1955, 143).

By remaining in a joint household, the trader is not forced to go out on a limb and risk his own capital in a venture which might prove disastrous. Indeed Dhulikhel merchants, though geographically mobile, are extremely unadventurous when it comes to investing their capital in enterprises. Rarely do they stray outside of traditional commodities which are in high, everyday demand. They are assuredly not innovators.

Their continued material success vis-a-vis other ethnic groups has relied on the latter's lack of capital and trading know-how. Where Newars have had to compete, they have not fared so well. In Pokhara, for example, Newar traders have faced stiff competition from Thakālis who have moved south since the Tibetan salt trade declined. According to Fürer-Haimendorf, 'the Thakali merchants soon outstripped their Newar competitors, and are on their way to dominating the mercantile life of Pokhara', a development which he attributes to the Thakali's willingness to take physical and commercial risks as opposed to the Newars' epicurean temperament: 'basically urban, comfort loving and perhaps somewhat timid' (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1975, 292; see also Messerschmidt & Gurung, 1974). In comparison with their Newar Buddhist counterpart, the Uray, who had links with Tibet, Shrestha traders have generally not engaged in long-distance caravan trade. They do not like

to stray from their shop once it is established apart from periodic visits 'home' and to wholesalers, usually in the Kathmandu Valley. Rather, their style of business is to sit cross-legged on a comfortable mattress in their shops and wait for the customers to come to them. Nevertheless, like the Soussi of Morocco, the name Newar has become virtually synonymous with trader as far as other ethnic groups are concerned and for similar reasons:

The child is thoroughly immersed in the commercial struggle before he ever leaves the valley. Everyone carries in his head a graph of the relative successes, the ups and downs, of his acquaintances (Waterbury, 1972, 44).

Moreover, they have an advantage from the beginning:

The Swasa dis not have to fight their way into urban trade at the expense of other groups. In virtually all Moroccan cities, and certainly Casablanca, they grew with the cities themselves (ibid., 69).

For Morocco and Casablanca, substitute Nepal and the Kathmandu Valley towns. The Shresthas of Dhulikhel are steeped in commerce and continually pre-occupied with profit-making. Their success in commerce, which must be largely attributed to the prevalence of the joint family and a secure investment in self-sufficient landholdings, seems to refute Fürer-Haimendorf's hypothesis that:

in agricultural communities that place a high premium on the ownership and acquisition of land there is little incentive to engage in the more risky business of commercial entrepreneurship. Moreover, high caste Hindus enmeshed in the net of family and caste obligations and bound by caste rules adding to the discomfort and hazard of travel outside their home ground may well find the life of long-distance traders distasteful (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1978, 341).

Dhulikhel Shresthas may not go over the Himalayas but their businesses are still established at considerable distances away from the town. Before the advent of motorable roads and modern transport, a relatively recent phenomenon, they used to take up to three months to travel to places such as Darjeeling or Sikkim.

Let me conclude by returning to what appears to me as the most striking character of Dhulikhel's economy - its fragmentary nature, the way in which each household stands as an independent 'corporation' in competition with other households. This is striking because it is in complete opposition to the moral collectivism embodied in the ways that guthi, caste and kinship all operate. Among Newars generally the

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evidence is less conclusive. Toffin's description of temporary, unstructured cooperation among farmers, while reinforcing the notion that it is the household which is the fundamental unit of labour, also points to a considerable well of cohesion in the lineage generally. Household autonomy would therefore appear to be directly correlated with the development of a cash economy.⁷

As I have pointed out earlier, while Toffin has devoted much space to the theme of the symbolic use of space within the house, he himself has written little on the composition of the family group which lives there. I would simply argue that it makes no sense for the house to have this huge symbolic significance were not the group occupying it to form a fundamental unit in Newar society.

Among traders household atomisation is easily seen for economic decisions are predominantly about the investment of money, and money is the affair of the household and no-one else. Where the economy is less monetised, the social organisation of labour necessarily takes a different form. Planting, harvesting, housebuilding, and so on all require occasional bursts of activity and larger numbers than any one household can provide. If money is not available to pay labourers, the only solution is to exchange labour.

What is interesting is that this does not become institutionalised, structured in more or less permanent groups. Ishii's 'structured' bolā group rarely endured more than one agricultural season while cooperation in Pyangaon seemed always to be on an ad hoc basis. Among artisans and service castes, the existence of enduring economic groups which regulate household competition requires explanation. But it is significant that these groups are known as guthi. That is to say, they have a religious or moral component. They are not primarily economic associations in the manner of Western medieval guilds. Their function is not simply to guarantee the economic security of all; rather it is to provide for a more embracing sense of social cohesion. And Newars themselves are acutely aware of this.

In the Newar case, where there is economic interdependence between households, it is either :1) because of a sudden demand for labour; 2) because caste rules require it; 3) because of the more embracing claims of a larger social unit - lineage or local caste group - which might feel threatened by unfettered competition. But my experience is that economic regulation by groups larger than the household is always resisted. This is particularly manifest in the cash-oriented economy of Dhulikhel where economic cooperation between households is almost completely absent. There is an attempt to keep economic dealings and relations with kin and affines as separate as possible. It is as if the everpresent moral debt acquired by virtue of kinship, and expressed in the endless series of ritual obligations which are common to all Newars, is onerous enough and should not be compounded by transactions in labour, goods or money.

NOTES

1. Fieldwork was carried out in Dhulikhel from 1980-82 and was financed by the Dept. of Education, N. Ireland. I would also like to acknowledge The Leverhulme Trust, London who have provided a grant for a second two-year stay in Nepal and during which tenure the present article was written.
2. Apart from the collaborative work referred to here, see Toffin (ed.), 1981.
3. All quotations from Toffin are my translations from the original French.
4. This household consists of a grandson with his widowed grandmother. As far as I know, the boy's parents were dead. I have no other cases of adoption. In theory a child who loses his or her parents is taken care of by other members of the joint household or by the closest patrilineal relatives.
5. Statistics on the economy of Dhulikhel can be found in Quigley (1984). Household statistics given here derive both from my own surveys and a census of every household carried out in August 1978 by New Era - a Kathmandu consultancy firm (New Era, 1979).
6. See Singh (1977); Mrs. Singh points out that since the second amendment to the constitution of Nepal in 1975, an unmarried woman of 35 years can inherit a full share of the paternal property. Previously it was only half that of her brothers. 'But, if the daughter gets married after taking her share, she should return it to the lawful heir. Daughters are not regarded as lawful heirs. Heirs, three generations removed, have been placed higher than married daughters' (p. 41). By the same amendment, 'A wife who had attended (sic) 35 years and has been married for 15 years can claim her share of property from her husband and live separately' (Ghimire, 1977, iv).
7. In a personal communication from David Gellner, who was working in Kwā Bahāl in Patan, he wrote that among the local Shakya population 'a high degree of social and religious cooperation, and economic anarchy, seem to be normal. There would be economic rewards for cooperation as they dominate the curio business, but they seem to be incapable of it'.

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The Concept of Asta Mangala (bkra-sis-rtangs-brgyad) in the Tibetan Culture According to their religious Text¹

Ramesh Dhungel

The fundamental base of the concept of Asta Mangala in both Tibetan and Hindu Cultures is the same. However, the Tibetans use it differently. The text of a large number of sūtras of Tibetan Buddhism mDomañs present some clear examples to us. Besides this, the style of the art of such emblems is also different from that of the Hindu one. Thus the main objective of this note is to know how Tibetan religion has provided special place for Asta Mangala.

Tibetan paintings and carvings of Asta Mangala emblems as well as other religious artifacts can be seen more ornamented and artistic than that of the Hindu. It is because, the art of writing of the socio-religious importance also became a compulsory task in almost every monastery of Tibet from the very beginning of the monastic culture in Tibetan Buddhism. People, specially Lamās (monks) who were endowed with artistic sense tend to clothe their religion with artistic symbols. So, profuse vast use of symbolic and ornamented art and painting can be seen in Tibetan Buddhist shrines and objects. Waddell expresses his idea of Tibetan symbolism in religious art in the following words:

"The extremely rich symbolism found in lamaism² is largely of Indian and Chinese origin. Its emblems are mainly of a conventional Hindu kind more or less modified to adopt them to their Buddhist setting. Others are derived from the Chinese, and a few only are of Tibetan origin." (Waddell 1978: 388).

The depiction of Asta Mangala i.e. the eight auspicious emblems is attached a great importance in the Hindu and Buddhist Cultures. It has both a religious as well as a secular significance for Tibetan Buddhists. The eight auspicious emblems can be depicted in monasteries (dGon -pa), worship rooms (Lha-khañ) of individual houses, over the gates of private houses and palaces, over the main entrance to villages and town settlements. They can also be seen painted or inscribed on stone on mani walls, stupas (mChod-rTan) and manuscripts. Likewise one may find them painted on the walls of open passages, living rooms and bedrooms of persons of higher social status. These auspicious signs are collectively called bkra-sis-rTag-brgyad in Tibetan. They are given as follows: (Das 1983: 69).

1. Rin-Chen-gdugs (རིན་ཆེན་གདུགས་) i.e. the precious jewelled umbrella. This in Sanskrit is called 'Chatra Ratna'.

2. gSer-gyi རྩམ་ (གསེར་གྱི་ཉ་) i.e. the golden fish and 'Svarna Matsya' in Sanskrit.
3. gTer-Chen-pohi-bum-pa (གཏེར་ཆེན་པུམ་པ་) i.e. the pot of treasure, called 'Dhana-Kumva' in Sanskrit.
4. Pad-ma-bzañ-po (པདྨ་བཟའ་པོ་) i.e. the excellent lotus, called 'Padma' in Sanskrit.
5. Dun-dkar-gyas-hkhyail (དུང་དཀར་གཡས་འཁྱིལ་) i.e. the white conch-shell with whorls turning to the right. This is in sanskrit called Dakshina-varta sañkha.
6. dPal-gyi-Behu (དཔལ་གྱི་བེལ་) i.e. the auspicious mark is represented by a curled noose symbol of love and called 'sratsa' in Sanskrit.
7. mChög-gi-rgyal-mtshan (མཆོག་གི་རྒྱལ་མཆོན་) : The chief standard of victory i.e. the symbol of royalty. This is called 'Dhvaja' in Sanskrit.
8. gSer-gyi-hkhor-lo (གསེར་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་) i.e. the golden wheel. In Sanskrit is called Svarna Cakra.

There is a famous legend relating to the Buddhisattva and these eight auspicious emblems, in which all the tantrik Buddhists believe sincerely. According to their legendary belief 'the Buddhisattva once explained that the people of spiritual soil (i.e. the people of the Buddhist Country or the people of the country of the god) were protected by the auspicious signs and that they should pass their lives in the practice of religion and the struggle for spiritual liberation. That's why, until this era, the eight auspicious signs (Asta Mañgala) are always placed around any spot where a ceremony is to be held. We thence, may suppose that, this was also one of the important causes for accepting the Asta Mañgala as auspicious emblems by the buddhist people.

Besides these eight marks, there can be seen other several sacred symbols in vigorous in Tibetan culture. Of them, the three emblems of longlife can found depicted together with bkra-sis-rTag-brgyad and can be seen painted in guestrooms (Tshög-Khañ), shrines (Lha-khañ) and over doors of a house. These three auspicious emblems are called Mi-tshe-riñ (མི་ཚེ་རིང་) Bya-tshe-riñ (བྱ་ཚེ་རིང་) and Shvatshe-riñ (ཤ་ཚེ་རིང་)

respectively. Generally, they represent a long-living human being, a long-living bird and a long-loving sambhar (See Plate No. IV, below) These three 'Tshe-riñs' are said to stand for the longevity of human

life, according to popular beliefs in Tibet. Likewise, some of the important symbols of Tibetan sacred objects are as follows: (Waddell 1978: 388-418, Das 1983: 69, 1183).

- I. Dkon-mchog-gsum, i.e. the three Gems; in Sanskrit is called Tri-ratna, symbolic of the Buddhist Trinity. These three symbolic ratna are: Buddha, his word and the monastery.
- II. Rin-Ch'en-sna-bdun, i.e. the seven Gems; in Sanskrit is called Sapta-ratna. These are the attributes of the universal monarch (Cakrayartī Rājā) and are: hkhor-rnam-rgyal (Wheel of victory). Nor-bu-che-ldan-gaṅ-bśam (the precious jewel; in skt., ratna cintāmaṇi), blo-gros-chog-ldan-blon-po (the gem of a Minister). Yid-hoṅ-mchog-gi-tsun-mo (the jewel of a wife, in skt., strīratna Rin-chen-stobs-ldan-glaṅ-po (the jewel of (white) elephant) rTa-chog-rlun-llhar... (the gem of a horse; in skt., Asva of Ravi hDud-hkhrīd-puṅ-hjom-dmag-dpon (the gem of a General). Each of these seven gems must have one Royal Badge of their own called sNa-cha.
- III. Ne-wai-rin-po-ch'e-sna-bdun i.e. the seven personal gems are as follows: The sword, the snake-jewel, the Palace-jewel, the Garden-jewel, the Robes, the Bed-jewel and the Shoe-jewel.

Likewise, bkra-sis-rdsas-brgyad i.e. the eight glorious offerings, hDod-yoṅs, i.e. the five sensuous qualities, Padma (lotus), yun-druṅ i.e. the svastika etc. also can be seen depicted in different places of socio-religious importance.

Now, let us see the use of the bkra-sis-rtags-brgyad emblems. For this, we may take the explanation given in the famous religious text of Tibetan Buddhism, called mDo-maṅs (བུ་མཎ་) i.e. the book of a large number of sūtras as mentioned above. This text clarifies the purpose and meaning of these eight symbols in the following way: (mDo-maṅs: 253-254).

1. bkra-sis-gdugs (The auspicious umbrella):

Namo! Always be protected by the auspicious or precious umbrella (Reference: Na-mo dbu-la-bkra-sis gdugs- ltar-skyobs/
 རྒྱལ་ལ་བཞག་ཤིས་གདུགས་ལུ་རྒྱུ་བས་། from this the purpose of
 precious umbrella seems to be to provide protection to human beings
 from rain and sun.

2. bkra-sis-rgyal-mtshan (The auspicious dhvaja):

Dhvaja stands for the imperishable emblem of royalty (victori-
 ous flag) in a human body. (Reference: sku-la-bkra-sis-mi-nub-rgyal-
mtshan-mchog/ སྐུ་ལ་བཞག་ཤིས་མི་བྱ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཆོད་མཆོག་།

3. bkra-sis-tshos-dun (The auspicious conch-shell):

The conch-shell signifies the sound of religion. (Reference:
gSuns-la-bkra-sis-chos-dun-gyas-su-hkhyl/ གསུངས་ལ་
 བཞག་ཤིས་ཆོས་རྒྱུད་གཡམས་སུ་འབྱིལ་།

4. bkra-sis-dpal-gyi-behu (The auspicious curled noose):

The curled noose is an emblem of love and is useful for the
 soul. (Reference: Thugs-la-bkra-sis-dpal-gyi behu gsal/ ཐུགས་
 ལ་བཞག་ཤིས་དཔལ་གྱི་ཐེའུ་གསལ་།

5. bkra-sis-gser-gyi-na (The auspicious fish):

The golden fish represents the sight or eye. (Reference:
sPyan-la-bkra-sis -rin-chen-gser-gyi-na/ སྤྲལ་ལ་བཞག་ཤིས་
 རིན་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་རྩ་།

6. bkra-sis-Padma-bzani-po (The auspicious excellent lotus):

The excellent lotus signifies the tongue. (Reference: lJags-
-la-bkra-sis-padmo-lo-hdab-rgyas/ ལྡགས་ལ་བཞག་ཤིས་པདྨ་
 ལོ་འདབ་རྒྱས་།

7. bkra-sis-gter-ch'en-pohi-bum-pa (The auspicious treasure-pot):

The wheeled pot of treasure stands for the throat. (Reference:
mGul-la-bkra-sis-rin-ch'en-bum-pa-khyil/ མགུལ་ལ་བཞག་ཤིས་
 རིན་ཆེན་གྲུམ་པ་འབྱིལ་།

8. bkra-sis-gser-gyi-hkhor-lo (The auspicious golden wheel):

The five auspicious golden wheels are supposed to represent the leg (Reference: Shabs -la-bkra-sis-hphrin-las-hkhor-lo-lña/

ལྷནས་ལ་ བཀྲ་སྤེས་ འཕྲིན་ལས་ འཁོར་ལོ་ལྷ་།

Likewise, mDomañs describes another auspicious emblem in the list of bkra-sis-rtags-brgyad- (Aṣṭa Maṅgala). It is the precious jewel. For this the mDomañs mentions as follows: Phyag-la-bkra-sis-yon-tan-nor-bu-mchog/ རྒྱལ་ལ་ བཀྲ་སྤེས་ ཡོན་ཏན་ རྟོན་བུ་མཚོག། which means the precious jewel standing for hand. This emblem is generally placed on top of the auspicious pot of treasure; that is why, it can be seen painted separately in only a few instances of wall paintings. These separate eight auspicious emblems can also be depicted in one emblem. (Stein 1972: 173; also see below plate No. III (b)).

mDomañs further mentions that some of the prayers in the sūtras of bkra-sis-rtags-brgyad expressed in the following lines mean good fortune and long life.

Reference: bkra-sis-rdsas-brgyad-dñon-grub-dam-pahi-mchog; rDsas-mchog-brgyad-kyi-bkra-sis-gaṅ-yin-pa; Den-hdir-bdag-cag-rnams-la-bkra-sis-phob; bkra-sis-des-kyan-rtag-tu-bde-legs-sog/ བཀྲ་སྤེས་རྩ་ས་བརྒྱུད་

དངོས་གྲུབ་དམ་པ་ཤི་མཚོག། རྩ་ས་མཚོག་པ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བཀྲ་སྤེས་གང་ཡིན་པ། དེར་འདིར་བདག་ཅག་རྩ་ས་ལ་བཀྲ་སྤེས་ཡོང། བཀྲ་སྤེས་དེས་གྲུང་རྩ་གཏུ་བདེ་ལེགས་ཤོགས། །

(Oh)! eight auspicious offering of victory! How much fortune (auspiciousness) can be acquired from them, come to all of us everywhere? And also bring good fortune and auspiciousness by those Maṅgalas.

From the above, the main purpose of bkra-sis-rtag-brgyad i.e. the Aṣṭa Maṅgala and the tshe-rin-sum i.e. the three emblems signifying long life seems to be basically the same. But the bkra-sis-rtags-brgyad does not include within this tshe-rin group in general understanding: Nevertheless, the bkra-sis-rtag-brgyad and there tshe-rin emblems may be painted on room walls for the same purpose. The tshe-rin are profusely used also in the new year (Lo-gSar) greeting cards and letters. Tibetan people or those who are influenced by Tibetan Culture, believe that these tshe-rins represent the three beings who are still

alive from a very long time, and by looking at such auspicious emblems one's own life can be made very long.

Hence, in conclusion, one may say that the importance of bkra-sis-rtag-brgyad (Asta Maṅgala) is greater to the Tibetans in their culture than to the Hindus. This is only a short note on the subject. For a fuller study on it one will have to search for its origins and development in India and in the Buddhist art there. According to Sādhanaṃālā believed to be one of the most authentic Buddhist texts written sometime around 3rd century A.D in India, there already was the tradition of symbolism in buddhist religious life. Sādhanaṃālā clearly mentions about the svastika emblem.

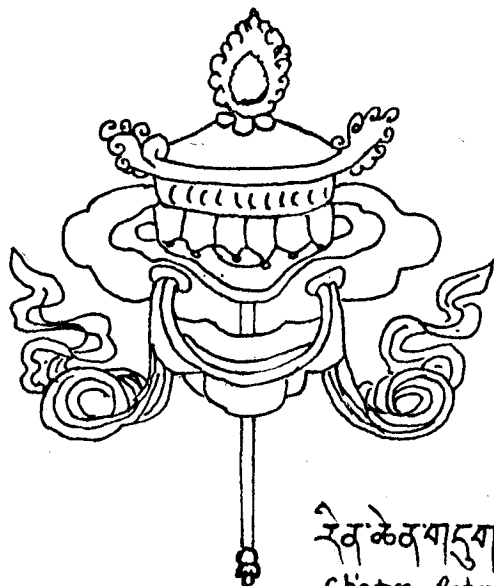
NOTES

1. In collecting and sketching the artistic emblems of Tibetan Asta Maṅgala and tshe-rin-gsum, this article has benefited from the help of sa-skya-grwa-pā wangdi (a monk pupil) of Mon-mch'od dgon-pa of Mustang, Mr Purna Das Manandhar and Udayā C. Shrestha. Similarly, Prof. Prayag Raj Sharma Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, T.U. and Mr. Prem K. Khatri/Nepalese History and Culture Instruction Committee, T.U. made valuable suggestions and helped in editing. So I would like to express my gratefulness to them for their help.
2. Now-a-days educated Tibetan Buddhist monks do not accept the Westerner's version of Lāmaism for Tibetan Buddhism.

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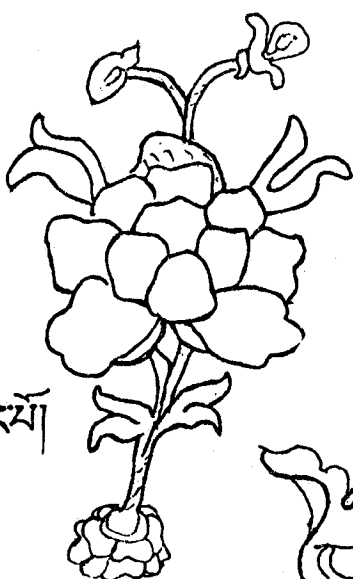
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Chatra Ratna.



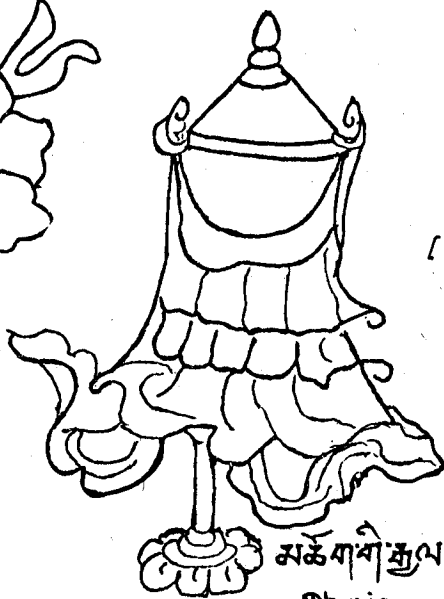
[B]

གསེར་གྱི་མཉམ།
Svayam Matsya.



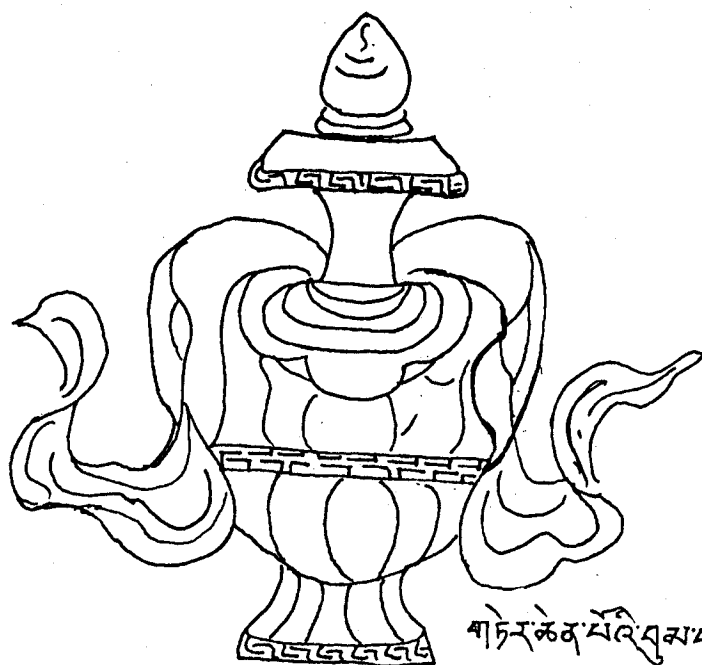
[C]

པདྨ་མཉམ་པོ།
Padma.



[D]

མཚན་གྱི་ཁྱུ་ལ་མཚན།
Dhvaja.



[A]

གཏེར་ཆེན་པོའི་ཤུལ་པ།
Dhana - Kumbha



ཏུགས་བརྒྱད་ལུས་གཞུགས།
Ashta Mangal Kumbha.

[B]



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Factors Affecting the Age at Marriage in Nepal

Jayant Man Tuladhar
Nepal Family Planning &
Maternal Child Health
Project

Introduction

The theory regarding the social determinants of the timings of the first marriage is not well known. While anthropologists have given attention to kinship and marriage, demographers are engaged in understanding the relation between marriage and fertility (Hawthorn, 1970:86; McDonald, 1983:1). The age at which marriage occurs in a nuclear family system tends to be late because the economic situation has to be strengthened to be able to set up a separate household. In an extended family system where the formation of a new separate household is not a condition, marriage occurs early (Hawthorn, 1970:87). In a Hindu society where the kinship system is very strong, marriage is considered as one of the sixteen classical stages (Samskāra) in a person's life. One of the ways in which a person is considered a mature man is through his marriage (Meyer, 1960:215). Young members of the household should obey all rules of etiquette and have respect for their elders.

Judith Blake (1967:136) looks at marriage somewhat differently from this emphasis on kinship systems. She hypothesizes that age at marriage is higher where selection of partner for marriage is made by free choice rather than by an arranged match. The former type of marriage usually occurs only when both mates are old enough to make their own decision and are sufficiently independent financially to be able to set up a separate household. Early marriage occurs in entirely different conditions, where parents will often make the decision for their sons and daughters. Children will be supported financially and reside with parents even after their marriage.

Peter McDonald (1981:416), in an attempt to develop a framework for analysis of nuptiality, looks at marriage in relation to its functions in each culture. Functions, as he observes, in the major cultures, are classified into three categories: economic, social and personal. Economic functions of marriage may have to do with establishing a separate new household. Marriage may provide a means of economic security, and it may also serve as an instrument to make a division of labour. Marriage also provides means for the exchange of wealth. Depending upon the culture, the social functions of marriage serve as an important element in the maintenance or transformation of the social structure in many ways. Marriage may strengthen or weaken social differentials. It can form or strengthen social or political alliances,

continue family lineage, and provide a means of social control of sexual activity. It helps to maintain the socio-political role relationships in the society and serves to reinforce or establish the social prestige of those involved. Apart from those functions which may have important effects on individuals, there are certain functions that are specifically personal. In many cultures, marriage may only be sanctioned to enter into the sexual act and as a source of affection, love and emotional support. It may also be a means to achieve spiritual reward in a religious sense.

McDonald has pointed out that some or all of these functions may be operating in any given society. Furthermore, changes in function may occur due to changes in the prevailing social structure and its value systems which in turn affect the marriage customs including marriageable age.

In trying to identify factors affecting the age at marriage among the Gurung community in Nepal, Macfarlane (1976:221) identified several possible causes that would have varied the age at marriage. Marriage could occur earlier or later depending on the timing of inheritance and rules of inheritance. Age at marriage can also be affected by the amount of capital required at marriage. It can also be determined by the size of the kin group to which the couple belongs. The amount of money that is required for marriage can easily be borrowed from other kin groups, to be paid back over the years as they support other kin members' weddings. Other determining factors can be how marriage is arranged, the standard of living and availability of partners.

The following analysis will basically aim to identify the sub-groups which practise early and the sub-groups which practise late marriage. An attempt is made to relate their marriage patterns with the cultural practices that prevail in their societies based on anthropological research.

Data

This research study was conducted based on the data from the Nepal Fertility Survey, 1976. This survey was conducted in 1976 by the Nepal Family Planning/ MCH Project in collaboration of the World Fertility Survey, London. A total of 5940 ever-married women of 15-49 years were interviewed using three-stage cluster sample design.

The quality of data was assessed after completion of survey at the Princeton University with the help of the World Fertility Survey (Goldman, et al., 1979).

Results

Mean ages at marriage according to different background characteristics are presented in Table 1 controlling for the current age of woman. Data indicate that women from the Mountain region tend to marry

later than women from the Hills and Plains. According to anthropological research (Furer-Haimendorf, 1964; Bista, 1972; Ross, 1981), people from the Mountains have entirely different marriage functions than for the people from other geographical regions.

Two of the major groups inhabiting the Mountain region are Bhotes and Sherpas. There are several peculiar practises that may have led to relatively late marriage among them. According to their social traditions, every married couple must establish an independent household even if the bridegroom's father has to divide his own house (Furer-Haimendorf, 1964:39). Though young Sherpas have freedom to select their partners, it usually takes several years to become a legal couple. There are three major wedding rites, Sodene, Dem-chang and Zendi or Gyen-kutop which must be completed before a bride can be brought to her new home (Furer-Haimendorf, 1964:41-68). The gap between each of these rites could be several years.

By the time the final wedding, Zendi or Gyen-Kutop is performed they may have one or two children⁺. They will become legally husband and wife after the completion of this ceremony. Furer-Haimendorf (1964: 56) suggests a delay of this ceremony may have occurred because of the need of the daughter's labour, and the bridegroom not having the capacity to set up a household of his own.

Other minority groups (Dhinga, Lhomi etc.) in the mountainous region also have the freedom of selecting their partners (Bista, 1972: 170 and Ross, 1981:74). The Dhinga who are from the western Mountains also do not practise childhood betrothal (Ross, 1981:74).

Unlike the people of the Mountain region who have many common social traditions and practices which might have caused them to delay their marriages, there are wide divisions among different groups in their culture and social tradition in the Hills and Plains. Therefore, in order to discuss factors affecting age at marriage in these regions it will become essential to look at each ethnic group separately.

Mean ages at marriage presented in Table 1 clearly show two distinct age patterns of marriage among ethnic groups. Some ethnic groups belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language family, e.g. Gurungs, Tamangs, Rais, Magars and Newars tend to marry later than those belonging to the Indo-Aryan language family. Of all the ethnic groups in Nepal, mean ages at marriage are highest for Gurungs, Tamangs and Rais. The Brahmins tend to have the lowest mean age at marriage.

⁺ Due to the relatively infertile period following the menarche, very few women have one or two children before the final wedding rite (Furer-Haimendorf, 1964:41).

TABLE 1

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE (IN YEARS) BY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS
CONTROLLING CURRENT AGE OF WOMAN: NEPAL, 1976

Background characteristics	Age of woman					Total
	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	
Geographical region						
Mountains	16.0	16.6	16.0	15.8	15.0	16.0
Hills	15.4	15.2	15.9	15.8	16.0	15.6
Plains	15.0	15.0	15.3	14.9	15.3	15.1
Ethnicity**						
Gurungs	16.5	(18.5)	(17.5)	(16.8)	*	17.6
Tamangs	17.1	16.4	(18.7)	(18.0)	(17.7)	17.5
Rais	16.5	17.1	(17.4)	(17.2)	(18.4)	17.2
Magars	16.3	16.6	16.5	16.4	16.9	16.5
Newars	16.0	16.2	16.4	17.5	16.9	16.5
Chhetris	15.4	14.9	15.1	15.3	15.5	15.2
S-D-M-D @	15.9	(14.6)	14.8	(15.4)	(15.8)	15.2
Tharus	14.8	14.8	15.9	15.5	(15.8)	15.2
Muslims	14.1	(13.8)	(15.2)	14.6	(15.3)	14.5
Brahmins	13.9	13.0	14.0	13.1	13.2	13.5
Others	14.8	15.1	15.6	15.4	15.1	15.2
Religion						
Buddhism	17.1	16.8	18.7	17.1	(18.0)	17.4
Hinduism	15.2	15.2	15.6	15.4	15.6	15.4
Islam	14.2	(13.8)	(14.9)	14.6	15.7	14.6
Work status of woman before marriage						
No work	14.7	14.6	15.2	14.7	15.1	14.8
Non-farming	(15.3)	*	*	*	*	16.3
Farming	16.1	16.2	16.4	16.5	16.6	16.3
Education of woman						
No schooling	15.4	15.3	15.7	15.6	15.7	15.5
Primary	15.1	15.4	15.0	(15.2)	(15.7)	15.2
Middle +	14.9	15.1	15.7	13.7	(15.1)	15.0
Work status of husband						
Non-farming	15.1	14.7	15.6	15.3	15.6	15.2
Farming	15.3	15.3	15.7	15.6	15.7	15.5
Total	15.3	15.2	15.7	15.5	15.7	15.4

Notes: * indicates denominator is less than 10 women.

() indicates that mean is calculated based on less than 25 women but more than 10 women in denominator.

@ S-D-M-D stands for Satars, Dhanuwars, Majars and Darais.

** a small number of Sherpas excluded from ethnicity variable.

Sources: Tabulated from the Nepal Fertility Survey data, 1976, standard recode, version 1, London: ISI/WFS.

Higher mean ages at marriage among Gurungs in comparison to many other groups have been documented by Macfarlane (1976:220). From his village-level data, he found that two-thirds of marriages occurred at between 17 and 21 years among Gurung women. The mean age at marriage was just over 19 in his village. He suggested several factors that might have accounted for higher age at marriage among Gurungs. Unlike other groups, Gurungs do not live in a joint family. Their family usually consists of husband and wife with their unmarried children. It is expected that a few years after marriage, a couple must set up an individual household. The same type of social tradition exists among the Limbus (Caplan, 1974:185). Therefore, marriage occurs fairly late so that a family will have sufficient time to accumulate capital to provide a separate household for the new couple. Another important factor is the way in which a marriage is arranged. Among Gurungs, Tamangs, and Rais, selection of partner is usually made by free choice. To some extent, young couples among the Newars and Magars also enjoy freedom of selecting their partners. Such a freedom among Newars is attributed mainly to western education, political liberalism and economic considerations (Bajracharya, 1959:418).

Like Gurungs, Tamangs, Rais and Magars, the remaining ethnic groups also have their own traditions regarding marriage. Two of the common features of these groups are the joint family system and parentally arranged marriage.

The mean age for Newar girls at marriage is 16.5 years (Table 1) which is three years higher than the mean for the Brahmin girls. Among Brahmins the traditional pattern of early marriage is due to the fact that the girl is to be married off before menarche (Allen, 1982:180).

Michael Allen (1982:180) confirms, based on his anthropological study conducted during 1973-74 and 1978-79, that the Newars also followed this orthodox pattern which required pre-pubertal marriage. While comparing pre-puberty marriages performed by Newars with those Brahmins, he found that unlike Brahmin girls, Newar girls go through a ritually elaborate mock-marriage during childhood, i.e. Ihi, in which the Kanyadan ('the giving of the virgin') event is an important function. In the process of Kanyadan, a Newar girl is married to a supposedly celibate god. In the orthodox Hindu marriage, Kanyadan is actually done giving a virgin girl to a boy prior to menarche. Thus, these differences in observed spiritual and religious values might be the reason why Newar girls have higher age at marriage than Brahmins.

By and large, Brahmins and Chhetris look on marriage as a religious rite. Both of these groups follow almost similar marriage rituals. Marriage between a Chhetri girl and Brahmin boy is an acceptable union (Furer-Haimendorf, 1959:232). Because they have the same social practi-

ces and beliefs regarding marriage, the question arises why the age at marriage differs between these two groups. Mean at Marriage is 15.2 years for Chhetri girls and 13.5 years for Brahmin girls (Table 1). Based on the anthropological evidence also, an early pattern of marriage

is less frequent among Chhetris than among Brahmins (Bista, 1972:7). According to Bista, Chhetri girls are married off when they are fully grown whereas among Brahmins, in order to gain Punya, 'merit', their girls of eight to ten years must be given to a Brahmin boy.

Basically, we could identify two reasons for higher age at marriage for Chhetri girls than for Brahmins. Firstly, unlike Brahmin young couples, Chhetri young couples can say whether they like each other or not before parents decide on their marriage. In marriage rituals, there is one extra ceremony before the Kanyadan rite which is exclusive to Chhetris (Bennett, 1977:129). This is called Swayambar which literally means girl's self choice of a husband.

Secondly, the Thakuri group which is considered the highest class within the Chhetri caste has relatively late marriage because of their concern with status. The amount of dowry to be given is considerably large if one wants to maintain family status. In order to keep the local community unaware of this difficult situation, Thakuri girls are married off to a distant location (Winkler, 1979:307). This type of marriage arrangement will definitely restrict the daughter's ability to revisit her parents frequently. Winkler argued that their marriage was delayed until a bride was ready to separate from the natal home.

The remaining groups (Tharus, Satars, Dhamuwars, Majhis, Darais, Muslims) have slightly higher mean age at marriage than Brahmins and lower than the Mongoloid groups. Except for Muslims, marriage systems that have been adopted by other groups have been influenced by Hindus. The Tharus who were practicing various forms of marriage such as capture and purchase, have the Hindu system (Shrivastava, 1959:139). They also consider marriage obligatory; and unmarried women do not have social status. The girl's parents usually find a partner for their daughter. Unlike in most other societies in Nepal, the girl is older than boy. It is not unlikely that a boy of seven or eight years is married to a girl of 15 or 16 years (Bista, 1972:121). This may be one reason why Tharu girls have higher mean age at marriage than Brahmins.

Information regarding the social traditions of the Satars, Danuwars, Majhis and Darais is very scanty. Bista (1972:131) reported that Danuwars practise marriage by mutual agreement which involves a decision of couples to live together. The age at which the couple decides to live together according to Bista could be between 29 and 30 years which does not support our finding.

Ages at marriage differ according to religion (Table 1) Buddhist girls marry much later than Hindu and Muslim girls: mean at marriage is lowest among Muslim girls in all age groups. Hindu girls occupy an intermediate position between Buddhists and Muslims. Factors relating to mean ages at marriage are nothing more than the reflection of social tradition and belief practised by each ethnic group. Mongoloid and Tibeto-Burman language groups are either Buddhist or follow Tibetan Buddhist culture. Except Muslims, all other Indo-Aryan groups belong

to the Hindu religion. Differences in mean ages at marriage by religious group are not peculiar to Nepal. In Malaysia (Chander, *et. al.*, 1977:60) and Sri Lanka (1978:63), mean ages at marriage are found to be highest among Buddhists followed by Hindus and Muslims.

In a society where labour is in demand, we would expect woman's age at marriage to be higher. If a woman is working or helping her parents on the farm, her marriage is likely to be postponed a few years. Mean ages at marriage according to the work status of women before marriage indicate that those who work before marriage tend to marry almost two years later than those who do not work (Table 1). This pattern is consistent in all age-groups. On the other hand, it is found from data that husband's work status is not so important in relation to age at marriage (Table 1). Women whose husband are working in farming have almost the same mean age at marriage as those whose husbands are working in non-farming occupations. Again, mean ages at marriage do not differ according to husband's educational level. When controlled for age, there is an inverse relationship between age at marriage and education of husband for women aged 25-29 and 40-49.

Summary

The above findings have indicated that the social customs, traditions, and religious values attached to marriage affect ages at which marriage occurs. It clearly shows that age at marriage is higher among women who live in joint family system or whose marriages are arranged by parents. Marriage tends to get delayed also, due to economic reasons as well as the needs of the daughter's labour. Marriage often gets delayed among the groups which encourage new couple to set up an individual household.

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Research Note: Contribution to the Ethnobotany of the Palpa Area

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Introduction

From the hoary past of human civilisation an intimate relationship was developed between man and plants, and this trend continues till today. The heavy dependence of man and his animals upon plants has inspired him to learn about the uses and properties of various wild plant species and by the way of self experience, trial and accidents he happens to an ample ethnobotanical knowledge on various plants. This long accumulated knowledge of ethnobotany which holds considerable socio-economic as well as ethnopharmacological significance happens to be in jeopardy as on one hand this body of knowledge lacks written documents while on the other the practice of using wild vegetational resources is attenuating day by day. In this context, the tapping of ethnobotanical informations proves quite essential to acknowledge as well as exploit the potential vegetational resources, which represent a vast reservoir of natural products.

Nepal is a land of topographic contrast, floristic diversity and ethnic variations. Most of the people live in central hilly region owning a large number of livestock and have developed a close affinity with local vegetation in using different vegetational resources for manifold purposes like food, fodder, medicines etc. and certainly the state of rampant poverty, illiteracy & inadequacy of health facilities have augmented this dependency. As People living in the remote corners and other interior area of Nepal still have to depend on the wild vegetables, because of their negligence and ignorance of growing and consuming cultivated vegetables (Regmi, 1984:311) Similarly, the local healers of different ethnic groups make quite a lot of use of the herbal plants in the preparation of all traditional pharmacopoeia (Dobremez, 1976:97). The herbal flora of Nepal is rich in its variability, composition and distribution. In this regard it seems to be obvious that there is immense scope for proper exploitation of wild herb flora through planned botanical studies (Malla, 1977:188). So far most of the studies on Nepalese flora have been done from either floristic or ecological approach and rarely from ethnobotanical angle. Thus ethnobotany is a subject of more than scholarly or historical interest in Nepal (Sacherer, 1979:45). Regarding previous record of works in this field Toba (1975:145-170) carried out ethnobotanical studies of Khaling area, lying south of Solukhumbu during the linguistic survey of the some area and reported 225 plants of various uses. Sacherer (1979: 45-64) contributed to the ethnobotany of Rolwaling

Sherpas and reported 80 plants comprising 45 edible plants, 11 medicinal plants, 4 poisonous plants, 7 incense plants, 2 dye yielding plants and 11 special use plants like manure yielding and helpful in fermentation. Manandhar (1980:147-151, 1982:13) carried out ethnobotanical studies and reported 43 plants consisting of 35 medicinal plants, 6 toxic plants and 3 plants used for tonic purposes from Rasuwa district and 85 plants comprising 46 medicinal plants, 30 edible plants, 14 fodder plants, 3 poisonous plants and 11 plants of miscellaneous uses like basketry etc. from Nuwakot area respectively. Bhandary and Shrestha (1982:125-135, 1984:151-158) carried out ethnobotanical investigations and reported 15 poisonous plants from Annapurna and Langtang himal area and 67 poisonous plants from Kathmandu valley area successively. Joshi (1983) carried out ethnobotanical studies on several localities of Nepal and reported 142 plants having indigenous veterinary medicinal values. To the knowledge of the present author, there have been no previous report of ethnobotanical studies from Palpa area.

The present study attempts to compile a crude ethnobotanical informations on the gegetational resources of the Palpa area. The Palpa district lies at the central midland region of Nepal (Stainton, 1970). The co-ordinates are $27^{\circ} 34' - 27^{\circ} 57' N \times 83^{\circ} 15' - 84^{\circ} 22' E$. Topographically the area consists of high lands, composed of Mahabharat and Siwalik hill range and lowlands around the riverbanks. The altitude ranges from 300 m - 2100 m. The altitude of sites (Bandipokhara, Banstari, Barangdi, Bhuvanigaun, Dharampani, Ghorsinga, Kadebhanjhyang, Kaseni, Masyan etc.) of the present study lies between C. 500-C. 1500m. Most of the hill slopes are extensively terraced for cultivation. The area enjoys sub-tropical to temperate type of cool humid and salubrious climate with an average annual temperature and rainfall around $50^{\circ} F$ and 60" respectively (Shrestha, 1974:5-6). The natural vegetation consist of sub-tropical to temperate types characterised by dominance of Shorea robusta, Schima - Castanopsis, Pinus roxburghii, Laurels, Rhododendrons and other mixed broad leaved deciduous species. This area is inhabited by many ethnic groups of which 60% or majority is comprised by Magars and rest by Brahmins, Newars, Chhetri, Gurungs, Kumale, Sarki etc. (Shrestha, 1972). The field study was carried out between January - July 1984.

Methodology

Ethnobotanical informations on usage of various wild plant species were collected by personal interview with reliable local people showing them the sample of plants. Some villagers were also paid to accompany to the forest and to identify the plants they use. The authenticity of data were checked by interviewing people of different places of the area as well as insisting them to verify the toxic nature by referring the poisoning accidents they had experienced. The collected plant specimens were identified at the Department of Botanical Survey & Herbarium, Godavary.

Result & Discussion

The entistment of different plant species along with their various economic uses is described below in an alphabetical order. For the sake of brevity the plant descriptions have been omitted.

Abrus precatorius Linn. (Leguminosae) RATIGEDI (रतीगेंडी)
Pounded 2 - 4 seeds is taken by man orally as a diuretic, to soothe inflammation during urination and to cure even a venereal disease in man locally called as 'Dhatu'.

Achyranthes aspera Linn. (Amaranthaceae) APANG (अपाङ्ग)
Stem is used as toothbrush. Paste of root is applied to cure boils.

Adathoda vasica Nees in Wall. (Acanthaceae) ASURO (असुरा)
Leaves are used in ripening of banana as well as in green manuring. It is a most popular green manure yielding plant and it is believed that upon its application rice seedlings grow better. Its twig and flower are used as vegetable and curry respectively after steaming (Regmi, 1982).

Ageratum conyzoides Linn. (Compositae) GANAUNE JHAR (गनाउने फार)
Ingestion of leaves is said to cause nausea & vomiting to livestock.

Albizia chinensis Merr. (Leguminosae) KALOSTRISH (कालां सिरिस)
Tender shoot especially the reddish one if ingested by livestock undergoes vomiting & intoxication.

Amaranthus caudatus L. (Amaranthaceae) SETO LUNDE (सेतां लुंढे)
Young plant after removing spines is used as vegetable (Regmi, '82)

Amaranthus spinosus (Linn. (Amaranthaceae) RATO LUNDE (रातां लुंढे)
Young plant after removing spines is used as vegetable (Regmi, '82)

Amaranthus viridis Linn. (Amaranthaceae) RATO LATTE (रातां लट्टे)
Seed is eaten after frying as well as used in making alcohol.

Argemone mexicana Linn. (Papaveraceae) SUNGURE KANDA (सुगुरे कांढा)
Grinded root is used to cure stomach disorder of pigs.

Artemisia vulgaris Linn. (Compositae) TITE PATI (तिते पाती)
Juice of the leaves is used to cure scabies in man. Decoction of leaves is taken to cure cough and asthma.

Arisaema Sp. (Araceae) KANCH (कांच)
Pieces of tuber mixing with beer is given to women who have just delivered baby so as to check the diarrhoea, but if taken without mixing in beer causes inflammation of mouth parts. Leaves are

discarded by livestock. It is cultivated by a few in backyards for its medicinal purpose though it has toxic property as well.

Arisaema tortuosum (Wall) Schoot. (Araceae) CHARI BANKO (चरीवाकां)
No part is edible and if ingested any part especially tuber causes inflammation of mouth parts.

Artocarpus lakocha Roxb. (Moraceae) BADHAR (बड़हर)
Ripe fruit is edible. (Regmi, 1982)

Asparagus racemosus Willd. (Liliaceae) KURILO (कुरीलां)
Lwig is used as vegetable.

Basisia butyraceae Roxb. (Sapotaceae) CHYURI (च्युरी)
Filtered extract of its seed is applied on nose of livestock to expel leeches.

Berberis asiatica Roxb. ex DC. (Berberidaceae) CHUTRO (चुत्रो)
Bark is used as drug for ophthalmic diseases of man.

Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don. (Urticaceae) KHADRETI (खट्रेटी)
Leaf is used as fodder.

Boenninghausenia albiflora (Hassk.) Meisner. (Rutaceae)

GWAME JHAR (ग्वामे फार)
Fresh plant or smoke of dried plant is used in repelling fleas of poultry (Gwame).

Bombax malbaricum DC. (Malvaceae) SIMAL (सिमल)
Tender shoot and flower are used as vegetable (Regmi, 1984).

Callicarpa macrophylla Vahl. (Verbenaceae) MALBOROWA (मालबोरावा)
Paste of fruit or root is taken to cure boils of throat.

Calotropis gigantea (L.) Dryand. (Asclepiadaceae) AANK (आंक)
Latex which comes after injuring any part is used as 'sniff' to cure colds & sinusitis.

Cassia fistula Linn. (Leguminosae) RAJBRIKSHYA (राजबुद्धा)
Seeds are taken as a laxative.

Cheilanthes albomarginata C.B. Clarke (Pteridaceae) RANISINKA (रानीसिन्का)
Pounded leaves is used to check bleeding of wounds as a coagulent.

Citrullus Sp. (Cucurbitaceae) THULO INDRENI (ठूला इन्द्रेनी),

AIRELU (अैलु)
Fruit which is extremely bitter if inedible but its kernel is applied to cure abscess of nails and headache.

Clematis Sp. (Ranunculaceae) BAGJUNGE (बागजुङ्गे)

Raw leaves are ingested to cure stomach disorder and food poisoning.

Colebrookia oppositifolia Sm. (Labiatae) BHOGATE (भोगटे)

Juice extracted from leaves is used to cure cataract of man & livestock.

Colocasia Sp. (Araceae) DARSAN PIPAL (दर्सन पिपल)

Upon eating its any part by livestock result vomitting and in extreme cases leads to fatality. (Bhandary & Shrestha, 1984)

Croton caudatus Giesel (Euphorbiaceae) AJIPAL, (अजिपाल),

JAIPAL (जैपाल) Leaves tender as well as mature if ingested by livestock causes bloating of stomach, drastic purgation and vomitting usually leading to fatality. Again fruits if taken by man causes nausea, vomitting & diarrhoea like in 'Cholera' generally resulting to death. The local preventive measure is to feed concentrated lime jice upto 1 litre within 1 - 2 hour. It is the most reputed & familiar toxic plant of the area. It is said that its seeds are taken in 'Butwal' a nearby town to sell among the local and Indian harbalists.

Cynoglossum zeylanicum Thunb. ex Lehm. (Boraginaceae)

KANIKEKURO (कनीकेकुरा) Juice of the root is used as an eye-ointment.

Datura metel Linn. (Solanaceae) 'KALO DHATURO' (काला धतुरा)

Leaf is said to be toxic to livestock. 1-2 seeds fried in oil if fed to livestock mixing with forage acts as an antidiarrhoeal remedy but in excess dosage like 3-4 seeds causes severe vomitting. Its seed if ingested by man causes intoxication & hallucination stronger than 'Ganja' or has his addiction.

Dendrocalamus strictus Nees. (Gramineae) TAMA BANS (तामा बांस)

Young shoot after fermentation is taken as vegetable. Leaves are used as tonic to ailing livestock but long time feeding act as antigalactogue.

Drymaria cordata Willd. sensu FBI. (Caryophyllaceae)

ABIJALO (अविजाला) Crushed leaves is applied externally to act as an refrigerant but upon ingestion causes nausea & vomitting.

Dryopteris Sp. (Aspidiaceae) KUTHURKE (कुथुर्के)

Young frond is taken as vegetable.

Engelhardtia spicata Lech. ex BI. (Juglandaceae) MAUWA (माँवा)

Grounded tender shoots are used for stupefaction of fishes.
(Bhandary & Shrestha, 1982).

Entada scandens Benth. (Mimosaceae) PANGRA (पाङ्ग्रा)
Paste of its seed is used as a plaster to join the fractured bones in men and cows.

Erythrina indica Lam. (Leguminosae) PHALEDO (फलेदां)
Leaf serves as food material to livestock as well to bats. Young pod is eaten after steaming or boiling. It is also used as a hedge plant.

Eugenia operculata Roxb. (Myrtaceae) KYAMUNO (क्यामुनो)
Leaves is chewed or its Juice is sniffed to cure colds & sinusitis.

Euphorbia roylana Boiss. (Euphorbiaceae) SIHUNDI (सिहुंडी)
Leaf is eaten by goats but caused allergic blisters around the mouth parts. Stem upon injury exudes latex which is used in stupefaction of fish. Its latex if imposed upon human eye causes inflammation and the local remedy is application of pure mustard oil.

Ficus benjamina Linn. (Moraceae) SAMI (समी)
Juice of its leaves is used as fleas & bug repellent.

Ficus cunia Buch.-Ham. (Moraceae) KHANIYO (खनियां)
Leaves are used as fodder and fruit is edible.

Ficus glomerulata Linn.f. (Moraceae) KHASRETO (खश्रेटां)
Leaves are ingested to livestock so as to ease the expulsion of obstructed placental cord during delivery cases.

Ficus lacor Buch.-Ham. (Moraceae) KAPRO (काप्रो)
Young shoots are used in making curry.

Ficus nemoralis Wall. (Moraceae) PANKURI (पांकुरी)
Young shoot which is sour in taste is taken as curry after boiling or steaming.

Ficus Sp. (Moraceae) BEDAULO (बेडाउलां)
Fruit is edible. Leaves using as forage acts as galactagogue.

Fraxinus floribunda Wall. in Roxb. (Oleaceae) LANKURI (लांकुरी)
Tender shoot is used as forage.

Galium hirtiflorum Wall (Rubiceae) LAHRE GETI (लहरेगेंटी)
Pounded leaves are used as an 'yeast' to bake breads.

Grewia multiflora Juss. (Tiliaceae) PHOSRE, SISSU (फांश्रे, सिस्सु)
Leaves upon using as fodder act as galactagogue or induces lactation.

Indigophera pulchella Roxb. (Leguminosae) SAKHINO (साखीना)
Tender leaves using as forage causes salivation, vomiting & swelling of stomach and even fatality in extreme cases. But matured leaves do not make any harm.

Ipoemia fistulosa Mart. ex Choisy. (Convolvulaceae) BESHARMA (बेशर्मा)
Leaves if ingested by goats & sheep are said to cause intoxication

Jatropha curcas Linn. (Euphorbiaceae) SAJIWON (सजिवन)
2-3 seeds if ingested by man causes severe nausea & vomiting
Latex from the stem is used to check bleeding in cuts. Its twig which is commonly used as a convenient tooth brush if used for long time leaves permanent black spots in teeth as well as excess of latex causes injury to teeth.

Lobelia pyramidalis Wall. (Lobeliaceae) EKLEBIR (एक्लेवीर)
Root is used as a remedy against food poisoning but if taken in empty stomach results nausea, vomiting & dizziness.

Lyonia ovalifolia (Wall.) Drude. (Ericaceae) ANGERI (अङ्गेरी)
Tender shoot is highly toxic to livestock especially to goats. Upon ingestion causes bloating of stomach and severe purgation, which often leads to fatality, if not treated promptly or within 1-2 hours. (Bhandary & Shrestha, 1984). The local preventive measure includes a mixture of concentrated line juice with ash and garlic or beers & yeast (Marcha).

Maesa chisia Buch.-Ham. (Myrsinaceae) BILAUNE (बिलाउने)
Leaves are used as fodder but if taken in excess causes vomiting and debility. It's fruit taken in large quantity is said to be toxic and especially children are more vulnerable. The symptoms are nausea, vomiting, dizziness and even fatality but low quantity does make no harm. (Bhandary & Shrestha, 1982).

Mimosa pudica Linn. (Mimosaceae) LAZZABATI (लज्जावती)
Plant is used as forage and is said to be galactagogue. The milk produced by its ingestion is supposed to give better quality of ghee.

Myrica esculenta Buch.-Ham. ex D. Don (Myricaceae) KAPHAL (काफल)
Infusion of the bark is used to cure pyorrhoea

Ophioglossum reticulatum Linn. (Ophioglossaceae) JIBRESAAG (जीब्रसाग)
Leaf is used as delicious vegetable. Spike or inflorescence is discarded.

Osyris wightiana Wallex Wight. (Santalaceae) PETEN (पेतें)
Ingestion of twigs by livestock causes vomiting & bloating of stomach. Of the same plant growing in shady & sunny area former is said to be toxic and the latter nontoxic. Leaves after boiling and drying are used as 'tea leaves'.

Oxalis corniculata Linn. (Oxalidaceae) CHARI AMILO (चरी अमिला)
Infusion of its leaves is applied in eye to cure cataract.

Plumeria acuminata Ait. (Plumeriaceae) GALAICHI (गलेंची)

Leaf is disaggreable to livestock. Its latex is used to kill worms of the wounds. Young leaves are ingested by man to cure abdominal cramp.

Pogostemon glaber Benth. in Wall. (Labiatae) RUDILO (रुदीलो)

2-3 drops after decoction of leaf is administered to children to cure asthma.

Polygonatum Sp. (Liliaceae) BAHADURESAAG (बाहादुरे साग)

Leaves are used as vegetable.

Polygonum viscosum Ham. (Polygonaceae) PIRRE JHAR (पिरे फार)

Crushed plant is applied on ponds to stupefy fishes.

Rhododendron arboreum Sm. (Ericaceae) LALI GURANS (लाली गुरास)

Flowers which are mild sour in taste are used as curry (Regmi, 1982) as well as a remedy to cure dysentery.

Ricinus communis Linn. (Euphorbiaceae) ANDER (अंडेर)

Seeds are used in making vegetable oil or 'dalda'.

Rubus ellipticus Smith in Rees (Rosaceae) AINSELU (ऐसेलु)

Infusion of the root is taken orally by man to cure gasrtic disorders or 'Gano' in local dialect.

Saccharum officinarum L. (Gramineae) UKHU (उखु)

Ingestion of leaves acts as an abortifacient to livestock.

Rumex hastatus (Polygonaceae) AMILIGHANS (अमिलीघास)

The plant is relished by goats as fodder. Young leaves are used in making curry. This plant is acclaimed to be effective in checking soil erosion.

Sapium insigne Benth. (Euphorbiaceae) KHIRRO (खिर्रो)

Locally it is regarded as an useless and evil tree as its latex if imposed upon eye or any other body parts causes severe inflammation. Leaves are refused by livestock. Even the smoke of its logs is said to be injurious to eyes.

Schima wallichii (Korth.) DC. (Theaceae) CHILAUNE (चिलाउने)

Pounded bark is employed to stupefy fishes. Leaves are used as green manure.

Scurrula parasitica Linn. (Loranthaceae) AINJERU (ऐजेरु)

Tender shoots upto one handful if eaten by livestock is said to cause loss of appetite, vomitting & swelling of stomach. But matured or withered shoots do no harm.

Selaginella Sp. (Selaginaceae) SIMRIK (सिम्रीक)

Pounded leaves are used to check bleeding of the wounds.

Shorea robusta Gaertn.f. (Dipterocarpaceae) SAAL (साल)
Leaves are used as forage and in making plates. Flower is used to make curry. The trunk is used to make raftars. The juice exuded during cutting of the trunk is used to cure gastric or 'Gano' and the decoction of bark is used as varnish paint.

Smilax aspera Linn. (Smilacaceae) KIKURDAINO (कुकुरडाइनां)
Tender shoot is eaten raw or after cooking as a vegetable.
Ingestion of leaves is said to act as laxative.

Spondias pinnata Linn.f. Kurz (Anacardiaceae)

Stephania glandulifera Miers (Menispermaceae)

BADAL PATE (बादलपाते) Leaves are used as drug against stomach disorder in man. The mixture of its leaves and root of Timmur i.e. Zanthoxylum armatum is used as an antipyretic.

Symplocos ramosissima (Symplocaceae) DABDABE (दबदबे)
Leaves are used as fodder. It is widely cultivated for the same purpose.

Tetraria macrodonta (Fee.) C. Chr. (Aspidiaceae)
KALO NYURO (काला न्यूरां) Young shoots are used as vegetable.

Thysanolaena maxima (Roxb.) O. Kuntze (Gramineae) AMRISO (अमरीसां)
Decoction of root is used as an ant helmintic.

Urtica dioica Linn. (Urticaceae) SISNU (सिसु)
Tender shoot and leaves after through boiling are used as vegetable by poor people. (Regmi, 1982). Leaves are given to livestock after boiling and mixing with 'Kudo' or livestock's meal so as to increase lactation.

Villebrunea frutescens (Urticaceae) CHIPL EGHANS (चिप्लेघांस)
Ingestion of leaves to pregnant livestock is said to cause miscarriage.

Vitex negundo Linn. (Acanthaceae) SIMALI (सिमाली)
Infusion of the leaves or the leaf itself is placed inside the nostrils so as to induce sniff and to cure congestion of nose and sinusitis. Leaves are placed below pillows so as to repel bugs & fleas from the bed. Young shoots are said to be edible.

Zanthoxylum armatum DC. (Rutaceae) TIMMUR (टिम्मुर)
Decoction of seed is taken to cure colds & cough. The mixture of its seed with garlic & beer is given to poultry to cure diarrhoea. The powder of its seed is commonly applied on exposed parts as an effective leech repellent. Seeds are mixed during mushroom cooking as a safety measure.

Discussion

The present study was carried out to gather ethnobotanical information from Palpa to assess the socio-economic, cultural and ecological effects of vegetational resources on the local people. In this report altogether 83 plants comprising 29 medicinal plants, 23 poisonous plants, 22 edible plants, 5 fodder plants, 2 green manure yielding plants and 5 plants of miscellaneous usage have been reported. These data are primarily based upon the local information characterised by traditional beliefs and experiences of native people of different caste and creeds like Magar, Tamang, Gurung, Chhetri etc. of Palpa. In course of age-long practice of using different forest produces which are easily available at free of cost from nearby forest area to meet the various daily needs especially the rural population have developed close affinity with the local vegetation. The diverse vegetational resources seem to play or significant role from socio-economic cultural and ecological aspect towards the life style and outlook of the local people.

As the result indicates, the highest proportion of plants are utilized for medicinal purpose in curing different diseases of man as well as livestock. The usage of seeds of Abrus precatorius (Ratigedi) in curing the venereal disease, the ritual of administering pieces of tuber of Arisaema sp. (Kanch) to prevent diarrhoea especially among the Magar women who have just achieved motherhood as well as application of mixture of the seeds of Zanthoxylum armatum (Timmur) with garlic and beer to check diarrhoea in poultry by Magar and Tamang are notable as these are characteristic of this area. Regarding socio-economic impact almost all rural people have deep faith upon the 'healing property' of wild herbs and medical advice of tribal healers or local physicians and this can be attributed to the profound traditional beliefs and poor economic condition. Similarly they are familiar with many poisonous plants and plants like Arisaema tortuosum, Datura, metel, Lobelia pyramidalis, Lyonia ovalifolia have been reported to be poisonous from Kathmandu Valley also (Bhandary & Shrestha, 1984). In this line Croton caudatus (Ajipal) is notable as it has not been reported as poisonous plant from other part of Nepal and in Palpa area people of all caste claim it as a highly toxic plant and it happens to have commercial value also. It shows that the rural people are well acquainted with the useful and harmful properties of many plants, on one hand they are beware of poisonous plants while on the other they have exploited the possible economic benefit with extra care. Besides they use many wild plants as vegetables and know many wild edible fruits. The use of Ophioglossum reticulatum (Jibre sag), Tetraria macrodonta (Kalo nyuro) as vegetable is quite popular at the market place of Tansen. The use of Mimosa pudica (Lazzabati Jhar) as more milk & best ghee producing forage plant in this locality is quite interesting as it has not been reported for the said purpose from other places. Being aware of the bad side effect of chemical fertilizer on quality of soil the local people are still habituated in applying many plant as green manures and it is of particular significance against the expensive synthetic fertilizers. Like in other rural area here also diffe-

rent plants are used as fish poison both as a old traditional practice and as a substitute to importation of fish poison chemicals. Besides the local people of this area used some plants for unique purposes rather uncommon to other places. Like the use of leaves of Galium hirtiflorum (Lahare geti) as a 'baking yeast' and applying the paste of Entada scandens (Pangra) as a 'plaster' in cases of bone fracture of man & animal. Similarly Rumex hastatus (Amili jhar) a weed is used as a fodder as well as in making curry and in cheking soil erosion.

The above account indicates that the vegetational resources of the area prove to be useful to the local people in many ways. It has been a traditional practice, social custom & economic measure to use many wild plants for different purposes. The local flora has contributed a lot in strengthening rural economy but we should also pay due attention not only in proper exploitation of these resources in sustainable basis but also in conservation measures as well thereby maintaing an ecological harmony between man and the vegetational resources.

Conclusion

The present study indicates that the Magars or the rural people of the Palpa area have developed a close acquaintance with the local flora to meet their several daily needs like medicines, food, fodder, fertiliser etc. In course of their practice of using various vegetational resources for manifold purposes, they have gained knowledge about the useful & harmful properties or economic values of many plants. In this regard, the ethnobotanical information of 83 plants mentioned in this article seems to be authentic as these are based upon their experiences. The present enlistment cannot be said a complete inventory as there might exist many potentially useful but less known plants. However, it attempts to tap the ethnobotanical informations on the potent vegetational resources of the area so as to contribute in furthering the ethnobotanical knowledge on the vegetation of the country. These crude ethnobotanical informations might prove helpful in evaluating the medicinal, food, fodder, fish poison, green manure and other values of the wild plants. The diverse vegetational resources can also be exploited commercially to produce many natural products or useful chemical compounds thereby fostering the economy of rural community by setting cottage industries & promoting the poor national economy of our country, which happens to be rich in the wealth of natural vegetation.

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Nepālavaṃśāvalī: A Complete Version of the Kaisher Vaṃśāvalī

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On July 18, 1985, exactly a month after the release of the facsimile edition of the Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī, I found a vaṃśāvalī manuscript in the National Archives, Kathmandu. Working among the texts of modern chronicles I immediately recognized this manuscript as a complete version of the fragment of a vaṃśāvalī--popularly known among scholars as the Kaisher Vaṃśāvalī (VK). The VK was discovered by Petech in 1956 in the private library of the late Field-Marshal Kaisher Shamsher. A roman transliteration of this fragmentary chronicle was published by Petech (1958:213-217). The facsimile plates and a Devanāgarī transcription of the VK were published in Vajrācārya and Malla (1985:205-222). The VK is a fragmentary thyāsaphū-manuscript, badly damaged on the left-hand top corner. Its beginning and end portions are both missing. As the surviving 8 folios are not numbered, it has not been possible to decide how much of the text at the beginning and how much at the end are missing. Petech thought that the VK stops with the year NS 469/A.D. 1349 "in which it apparently was written" (Petech, 1958:8) Since its discovery, scholars have found it a useful source material, substantively dependable particularly for the late Thakurīs and the Early Mallas.

The manuscript recently discovered (VN) in the National Archives is an important find for the students of traditional historiography in Nepal. As the VN is a complete text of which the VK is only a fragment (Folio 7A- Folio 11A), the new manuscript is a documentary evidence for those sections of the VK which have not yet been located. The identity of the VK fragment and Folio 7A - Folio 11A of the VN is almost absolute--"almost" because there are orthographic variants and a remarkably few variants in regnal years for historical kings. Even the missing syllable, as in Folio 8A line 8 śrī va for śrī śiva is the same in both the manuscripts; even the wrong date, Samvat 267, as in Folio 9A line 1 for 287 is the same in both the texts. There are only two variants in dates. The VK has 26 for (Rudra)deva; the VN has 27 (Folio 7A:1); the VK gives the impossible 546 as the year of Rudramalla's death; the VN has the correct 446 (Folio 10A:5). Where the VK uses Śudī, the VN uses Śukla (Folio 9A:6); where the VK uses aṅgavāra, the VN uses bhauma(vāra) (Folio 9A:6); where the VK uses Kṛṣṇa, the VN uses Vadi (Folio 10B:7). There is also an inadvertent repetition of Vāmadeva and Harṣadeva (Folio 8A:2-3); the copist of the VK makes no such mistakes. The VK is in the late Nepālākṣara, the VN is in Devanāgarī with some traces of Newari survivals. As most of the older vaṃśāvalīs, the VN is in hybrid Sanskrit, or what the purist would call "barbarous Sanskrit".

Vajrācārya had discovered a 6-folio folded vamśāvalī manuscript in Gorkha. He published the text and its Nepali translation in 1977. The manuscript (VG) is reproduced in Vajrācārya and Malla (1985:223-228). The VG is an abridged version of the VN. The abridgement, however, is very drastic. Only names and regnal years of kings are retained while all their pious deeds, gifts, and religious activities have been pruned. The VG is, therefore, less detailed, severely edited--almost only one-third in length and contents. In the preserved portions the VG, the VK and the VN are identical. So all the three texts may have had a common origin.

The VN is a manuscript consisting of 13 folios in all, written on ordinary yellow Nepalese paper, 22.5X9 cm in size, 6 to 8 lines per page, now preserved in the National Archives, Catalogue II No. 96, Itihāsa 311, Microfilm No. A319/10. As the VK is incomplete and damaged, the VN is an important text to complement as well as to restore the VK. Even otherwise, its importance on its own cannot be overemphasized. As its critical study and edition are in progress only a few preliminary points will be stressed in the following sections. Almost all the modern chronicles wax eloquent on Mānadeva I and identify him with the legendary Vikramāditya who founded the Vikrama Era. This tradition is ignored and not recorded by the Gopālarājavamśāvalī (V₁). On the other hand, the V₁ records the legend of parricide (folio 20B:4-21A:2). Unlike the V₁, the VN records Mānadeva's association with Svayambhū caitya; the V₁ records his foundation of a big caitya in Guṃ Vihāra. The VN and the modern chronicles explicitly call Mānadeva "an adopted son, not born in the family". The entry on Mānadeva in the VN is closer to the modern chronicles than to the V₁. As the two traditions diverge so widely, we would like to quote the passages in our free English translation:

His son was Mānadeva; 41 years. He killed his father unwittingly. As he had committed such a monstrous crime, he wandered crying (in consternation). On reaching the hillock of Guṃvihāra he observed penances. By the merit of these penances, a great caitya emerged (on the hillock). He consecrated the caitya... He founded Mānavihāra after his name. There he consecrated (the temple of ?) Śrī Māneśvarīdevī. He regulated the system relating to land-measurement and land rent. etc. (V₁ 20B-21A)

Thereafter, Śrī Mānadeva, who was an adopted son not born in the family, became the king, 39 years. He had a vision of Svayambhū caitya bhaṭṭaraka (in his dream?). He founded Mānavihāra. He built the capital city and the palace Mānagriha, with seven courtyards/storeys and two oblong ponds ... surrounded on all four sides with ... He became the sovereign of Nepal. Inside Mānagriha he constructed a temple for the God which had been excavated

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with gold.... The King's wife Bhoginī emmolated herself on the funeral pyre of the King. In Mānavihāra, the copper-plate roof he had built earlier was enlarged, and the land endowments of the monastery, too, were increased. He himself founded/initiated the use of a new epoch era (VN folio 5A-5B)

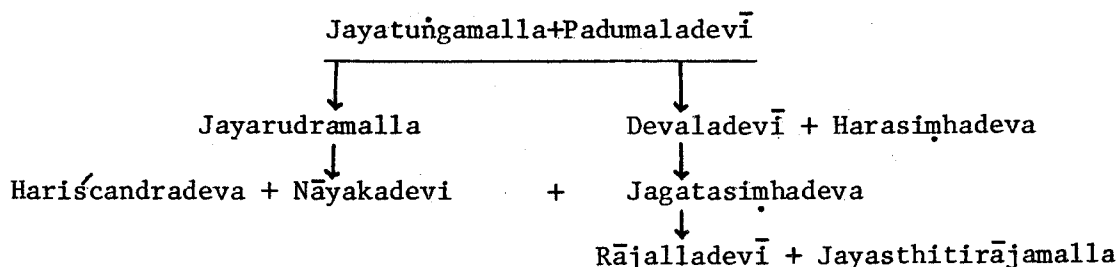
The substantial divergence of the two extracts seems to indicate that different elaborate versions of ancient vaṃśāvalīs were in circulation until recently and that the modern chronicles compiled in the nineteenth century may have had access to these older texts. This hypothesis, postulated in our introduction to the facsimile edition of the Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī, is at least fortified, if not yet fully proved, by the VN.

To give one more example of the importance of the new manuscript, the identity of Devaladevī--the pivotal figure in the politics of Nepāla Maṇḍala in the second quarter of the fourteenth century--has remained an enigma. Although we know from the V₁ and the VK that Devaladevī was the mother of Jagatasimha and paternal grandmother of Rājalladevī, we have no authentic document to show that Devaladevī was Harasimhadeva's wife, nor any to show that Jagatasimha was Harasimhadeva's son. The only document of a sort was "a noting in a Caṇḍī manuscript" Mohan Khanal claims to have found in Dolakhā (Khanal 1970: 46). The veracity of this text is impossible to scrutinize as Khanal did not publish any facsimile nor any other details pertaining to the manuscript location. Purely on circumstantial evidence, scholars have by now taken it for granted that Devaladevī was Harasimhadeva's wife and that Jagatasimha was their son. In one entry in V₁ Jagatasimhadeva is referred to as Karṇāṭavaṃśaja (Folio 28A:1); in another entry he is referred to as Tirahutiya (Folio 49B:1). The VN/VK, too, refers to him as Karṇāṭavaṃśaja (Folio 10B:3). These references conclusively prove his Karṇāṭa origin. Yet we still do not have any firm evidence to prove that his mother, Devaladevī, was Harasimhadeva's wife and that Jagatasimha was Harasimhadeva's son. Note that not a single of the modern vaṃśāvalīs mention Jagatasimha as Harasimhadeva's son, nor do the Maithil traditions. No Mailla genealogy mentions him either, though they do mention his daughter, Rājalladevī.

We know from an entry in the V₁ (folio 46A:4-46B:1) that in January 1326 Harasimhadeva and his family entered Rājagāma as political refugees and that the Maithil King died on the way, whereas his family, including his son, was brought in confinement. They asked for asylum in Nepal. Neither Devaladevī nor Jagatasimhadeva is mentioned by name in this entry in the chronicle. On the evidence of the VN, we are now in a position to explain why the refugee party entered Nepal in the first place. Devaladevī, the mysterious but powerful lady who was in the helm of the state affairs between A.D. 1326-1366, is mentioned in the VN (folio 10A:6-7) as Padumaladevī's daughter, (i.e., the young and energetic king-maker Rudramalla's sister). Together with her mother Padumaladevī, Devaladevī became a co-regent for the new-born orphan Nāyakadevī, the daughter of

Rudramalla. The throne of Nepal was occupied at that time by Rudramalla's relative and puppet, Jayārimalla (1320-1344) who ruled from Devapatan as a nominal king. Thus if Devaladevi played a key political role it is because of her social status as a member of the Nepalese Royalty. Without any social connections with the local nobility, this would otherwise have been an impossibility in any society, much less in the Nepalese society--and that too for a refugee widow.

If Devaladevī was Padumaladevī's daughter, then we are compelled to raise vexing questions, which will be obvious by looking at the following family tree:



Did Jagatasīṃhadeva, then, cohabit with his cross-cousin Nāyakadevī, i.e., his maternal uncle, Rudramalla's daughter? Note that Nāyakadevī's first legal marriage was with Hariścandradeva; she was a widow and an unwed wife of Jagatasīṃha. Could it be for this "incestuous?" relationship that Jagatasīṃha was thrown into prison (V₁28:5)? The chronicles are silent about his final end.

Whoever Devaladevī's husband was, he certainly was not Rudramalla, as suggested by some Nepali historians (Regmi, 1965: 300-303).

If Harasiṃhadeva was the husband of Devaladevī his flight to Nepal is understandable. Devaladevī's meteoric rise in 1326 is equally understandable because from her parents' side she was a member of Bhaktapur Royalty, sharing the co-regency with her mother Padumaladevī for the minor Nāyakadevī.

The cryptic and fumbling details of the medieval chronicles at this point in the narrative (AD 1326-1347) and the beginning of the deliberate falsification of social-political history by the later Mallas have to be sought here and at this point in time. At any rate, the VN clearly states that Devaladevī was Padumaladevī's daughter. The importance of the VN is, thus, obvious for the student of Nepal's medieval history. Petech refers to a "well-known law in historiography, the highly authoritative VBd (Gopālarājavamsāvalī) soon gave origin to abridgements or compendia" (Petech 1984:7). The VN, the VK, the VG and Kirkpatrick's king-list--all are certainly "abridgements" of one kind or another, but they are not the abridgement of the Gopālarājavamsāvalī only. There were probably similar ancient texts upon which these pruned versions were based. Besides, the VN is not only an abridgement--whatever its original--but also an updated text. Perhaps,

because the updating had to be done continuously, the older versions were edited, abridged, and pruned. At least, the VN has passed through different editing and updating phases. The first transformation of the text appears to have taken place in the late 1320s-1340s when rival parties were contending for power in the Nepal Valley. This phase appears to have ended with the rise of Sthitirājamalla (A.D. 1382-1395). The next phase was during the later Malla period when the descendants of Sthitirājamalla were keen to demonstrate their Karṇāṭa origins. The Folios 11 and 12 certainly belong to this phase of the evolution of the text. The final phase is, of course, the Śāha period. Right upto the end of the Malla period the text uses Nepāla Samvat; then it switches over to Śaka Era, while only the last two dates of Raṇa Bahādur Śāha are given in the Vikrama Era.

The text lists only the Malla Kings of Bhaktapur-- ignoring the Kathmandu and Patan lines. Although the earlier portions of the text were certainly much older in origins, there is little doubt that the VN (as well as the VK, VG) in its modern form was written in Bhaktapur, probably during the reign of Jagatjyotirmalla [AD 1613-1637] or even later. It has been updated during the reign of Raṇa Bahādur Śāha, who may have commissioned the present copy. As the critical edition of the VN is planned for the near future, we present here only a preliminary and free English translation. The folio-synopsis of the text is as follows:

Folio 1A- 1B	the advent of Paśupati; the Gopālas; the Mahiṣapālas; the Kirātas
Folio 2A	the Kirātas (continued)
Folio 2B-3A	the origin of the Solar Dynasty
Folio 3B-4B	the early Licchavis
Folio 5A-6B	the Licchavis and the Guptas
Folio 7A-9A	the Thakurīs
Folio 9A-11A	the Early Mallas
Folio 11A-12A	the Karṇāṭas and the late Mallas
Folio 12A-13A	the Śāhas

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नेपाली साहित्य संस्थान

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श्री गणपतये नमः ॥ श्री पञ्चपत्रये ॥ क्रमेण वर्त्मना ये कसियुगे समस्तस्य लोको सिमा ला चरण सुवस्य
राजा श्रीमत्तः ॥ यथा स्थिता राजा हिमवतः शैलस्य ध्वज इति निमहा रथी भूतम एतले भं निरेम्बर
भृङ्गारक्याऽभूतः तदनु गौतमादिभिः सविगोले स्वयं गौतमे श्वरादयो देवायुति किताः च न
नरेभ्यो रे श्वरभृङ्गारक्ये मानकवने विहरति स्म ॥ तेषां माना गोपालो बभूवः तस्य कपिलगवी
वाग्न निवेगत्वा तया क्षीरधारया संसिक्ते भूषे रशो श्रीमान् पञ्चपतिः प्रकाशितः तेनैव
नाम्ना गोपालेन पञ्चपतिः प्रतिकाकृतः ॥ नतः परेण गोपाले वीर्यवान् क्रमेण राजभ्यं जितः ॥
त्रायः राजा श्रीभूमा गहवर्ष ८४ ॥ राजा श्रीजयगुप्तवर्ष ९३ मास ३ ॥ राजा श्रीपाण्डुवर्ष

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८१ ॥ राजा श्रीहर्षगुप्त ६७ ॥ राजा श्रीभिमगुप्तवर्ष ३८ ॥ राजा श्रीमल्लिगुप्तवर्ष ३७ ॥ राजा श्रीवि
सुगुप्तवर्ष ४६ ॥ राजा श्रीजयगुप्तवर्ष ९१ मास १ ॥ स्वर्णवर्षे श्रीमोपालराजावः ॥ तत गोपा
लान् निजिममहीपालकृमेण राज्यं प्रतिपालनाय राजा वरसिंहवर्ष ४८ ॥ राजा श्रीज
यसिंहवर्ष २१ मास ७ ॥ राजा श्रीभवर्णसिंहवर्ष ४१ ॥ एतेन गौतमसिंहपालराजानो भ
वन्ति ॥ ॥ ततः पञ्चारसर्वकिरां राजा पृथुः ॥ राजा श्रीएलवर्ष ८० ॥ राजा श्रीपुंनिवर्ष
७२ मास ३ ॥ राजा श्रीधर्मवर्ष ३७ ॥ राजा श्रीबलवर्ष ३१ मास ६ ॥ राजा श्रीहर्षवर्ष ४१
मास १ ॥ राजा श्रीहर्षवर्ष ५० ॥ राजा श्रीपृथुवर्ष ४१ मास ८ ॥ राजा श्रीशुपत्यवर्ष ३८

सुनाभिकमलोद्बोधास्त्राघादुर्नुतः॥बुलरापुत्रःमरीचिः॥मरिचैःपुत्रकशपयः॥कस्यस्यस्यपुत्र
नगदासुर्म्यः॥सूर्मस्यपुत्रोमनुः॥मनोःपुत्रककुत्स्यः॥ककुत्स्यस्यपुत्रोदेवः॥देवोपुत्रःसुव्यः॥
पुष्यपुत्रःश्वत्सः॥श्वत्सस्यपुत्रःपृष्ठः॥पृष्ठोपुत्रस्त्रिशंकरः॥त्रिशंकरस्यपुत्रोभुधिमारः॥भु
धिमारस्यपुत्रोयवनास्वः॥यवनास्वस्यपुत्रोमांभानाः॥मांभानुपुत्रोलुसंधिः॥लुसंधिपुत्र
धतिसंधिः॥धतिसंधिपुत्रोभरतः॥भरतस्यपुत्रोअसितः॥असितपुत्रसगरः॥सगारस्य
पुत्रश्चसप्तजः॥सप्तजस्यपुत्रःशंसुमानः॥शंसुमानस्यपुत्रःदिलिपः॥दिलीपस्यपुत्र
भगीरथः॥भगीरथस्यपुत्रःककुत्सस्यपुत्रःरघुः॥रघोपुत्रकल्माष

पादः॥ कस्माच्च पादस्य पुत्रः स खनः॥ सखनस्य पुत्रः समुद्रसेन ॥ समुद्रसेनस्य पुत्रश्च त्रिवर्णी ॥ अत्र
 त्रिवर्णस्य पुत्रः श्रीगर्गः॥ श्रीगर्गस्य पुत्रः पटुक्षतः॥ पटुक्षतस्य पुत्रश्च स्वरीषः॥ स्वस्वरीषस्य
 पुत्रनहुवः॥ नहुवस्य पुत्रः वनाभागः॥ वनाभागस्य पुत्रः अजः॥ अजस्य पुत्रः दसरथः॥ दसरथ
 स्य पुत्रः रामः॥ रामस्य पुत्रोः लवकुशौ ॥ लवस्य पुत्रः स्वाति ॥ एते अयोध्याय पातर्क्षिणः॥ ॥ ॥
 अतपरे इत्येतां कुर्वते ॥ विशालः॥ विशालपुत्रो हेमचन्द्रः॥ हेमचन्द्रस्य पुत्रः सुचन्द्रः॥ सुचन्द्रस्य पुत्र
 दुमाः॥ दुमाया पुत्रः संजय ॥ संजयस्य पुत्रः सुवर्णधृति ॥ सुवर्णधृतिपुत्रः कृष्णध्वजः॥ कृष्ण
 ध्वजस्य पुत्रः सोमदत्तः॥ सोमदत्तस्य पुत्रो वैराजमेजयः॥ वैराजमेजयस्य पुत्रः पुनित्रिः॥ पुनि

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त्रिपुत्रो भवति मातुः॥ मन्त्रिमतो पुत्रो वैसः॥ एते नृपविमाननगरीष्ववताम्यर्षस्य वैराजभगवान्
 भूतुः॥ ॥ स्वधनेपाले किं तेषु वैशः॥ पुनः किं तान विनिर्जिम्ब ॥ राजा अत्रिनिर्जिम्बिनी कूलव
 र्ष ५०॥ राजा श्रीमत्तारात्रवर्ष २९॥ राजा अत्रीषवर्ष १५॥ राजा श्रीषवर्ष १५॥ राजा श्रीषवर्ष १५॥
 ॥ अत्रमेननेपाले भवति चतुर्वर्णमधीरुता ॥ अत्रमेननेपाले भवति चतुर्वर्णमधीरुता ॥ अत्रमेननेपाले
 नयत्सुति सुभ्रं निर्विनीयत्सुति सकलराज्ये माजीत कस्यमायेव पुत्रा पालिताम्बसंवत्सरवत्त
 रताम्बवर्षनेति ॥ राजा अत्रीषवर्ष १५॥ तेन राजापुत्रपुत्रिभट्टारकस्य पुत्रा दृष्टाव्यः॥ ६
 क्षितागरपर्यन्तं संकाचननगरम् एतं विनिर्जिम्बने वैश्वनर्यरत्ना निपुवर्णकोषकादमात्रि

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ध्यादयतिवानीयश्रीपुष्टपतिभृदारकायसंपुवदत्तं॥ राजाश्रीभूमिवर्मावर्ष ४९॥ राजाचन्द्रवर्मावर्ष
२९॥ राजाश्रीजयवर्मावर्ष ६२॥ राजाश्रीवर्षवर्मावर्ष ५९॥ राजाश्रीसर्ववर्मावर्ष ४८॥ राजाश्री
पृथ्वीवर्मावर्ष ५६॥ राजाश्रीज्येष्ठवर्मावर्ष ४८॥ राजाश्रीकुबेरवर्मावर्ष ६१॥ राजाश्रीहरिवर्मा
वर्ष ७६॥ राजाश्रीसिधिवर्मावर्ष ६९॥ राजाश्रीहरिदत्तवर्मावर्ष २२॥ तेनचतुःशिखरस्य देशेभग
वतोविष्णुभृदारकस्य देवालयसंस्मृतिं कृतवानिति॥ राजाश्रीबलुदत्तवर्ष ३३॥ राजाश्रीसिरियत
वर्मावर्ष ३॥ राजाश्रीदधिवर्मावर्ष ७७॥ राजाश्रीवसन्तदेववर्ष ६९॥ राजाश्रीपुष्पदेववर्ष ६९
राजाश्रीभास्करदेववर्ष ७४॥ तेनहि राजापुण्यतेल्लयस्मिन् कृतं॥ तेनपुष्पवर्मातिभर्तारक कौच

ननगरभूमण्डलं विनिर्जित्य तेनैव च नरपरत्नज्वलितमुदणं कौचकोचनानामपुर्णिनामानीयश्रीपु
पतिभृदारकायसंपुदत्तं॥ राजाश्रीभूमिवर्मावर्ष ५९॥ राजाश्रीचन्द्रवर्मावर्ष २९॥ राजाश्रीजयव
र्मावर्ष ६९॥ राजाश्रीवर्षवर्मावर्ष ५५॥ राजाश्रीसर्ववर्मावर्ष ४८॥ राजाश्रीपृथ्वीवर्मावर्ष ५६
॥ राजाश्रीज्येष्ठवर्मावर्ष ६८॥ राजाश्रीकुबेरवर्मावर्ष ७५॥ राजाश्रीहरिवर्मावर्ष ४८॥ राजा
श्रीसिधिवर्मावर्ष ६९॥ राजाश्रीहरिदत्तवर्मावर्ष २२॥ तेनचतुःशिखरस्य देशेभगवत्तद्विष्णुभ
ृदारकस्य देवालयसंस्मृतिं कृतवानिति॥ राजाश्रीबलुदत्तवर्मावर्ष ३३॥ राजाश्रीपुष्पदेववर्ष ३५॥
राजाश्रीसिधिवर्मावर्ष ७७॥ राजाश्रीवसन्तदेववर्ष ६९॥ राजाश्रीसिधिवर्मावर्ष ५७॥ राजा

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श्रीवर्षदेववर्ष ५७॥ तेन ज्ञां गुमस्तैवेन्नभदारकायपुत्रिष्ठिनी ॥ श्रीपंचपतिभदारकज्ञोत्तरादिपि
 त्रिष्ठिनीचेति ॥ ॥ राजाश्रीकरदेववर्ष ५०॥ राजाश्रीधर्मदेववर्ष ५१ ॥ तेवपञ्चपति
 दक्षिणमूर्तिमहच्छेषं ज्ञेयि कृतं यान् एतान्नेवेन्नभदारकस्यपुत्रिष्ठिनी ॥ ॥ ततः चर्षसपञ्चपति
 पालितपुत्र ॥ राजाश्रीमानदेववर्ष ३८ ॥ तेन स्वयं भवेन्नभदारकस्य दृष्टः ॥ सुतस्ततः हि नः ॥
 मानविहाराम्ब ॥ राजाश्रीभानिमानयहंसपुत्रसप्तमेतं दीर्घिनाप्यसंयुक्तं चतुष्पादमेतं
 दनधारवेदितं ॥ नेपालपुत्रासिद्धिनीव ॥ केरापुत्राऽप्यहममपि भगवन्नेमानयहंस्यः

निबित्तकृते देवयुंय कृत्वा ॥ तस्य राजाभोजिनी दृग्धराजा विना निसंस्कारात्तमकरोत् ॥
 त्वया कृततापुष्पं रक्ती पुनः स दत्त ॥ चस्यानभूमिर्द्वि ॥ अत्रि मरुत श्रीमण्यं मत्रि विहारश्च
 स ग्यत्तार स्वयं रिषर्त कृता ॥ राजा श्रीमन्ने देववर्ष ५१ ॥ राजा श्रीमन्ने देववर्ष ५६ ॥ राजा श्रीउद
 ये देववर्ष ५७ ॥ राजा श्रीमन्ने देववर्ष ५८ ॥ तेन यमपुत्रि मरुतारकाय वर्ष त्रयमना दृष्टिः दृष्टि
 आकर्षमाणं नृक्षौषमणिपुर्कं च दत्तवान् ॥ राजा श्रीपुनका मे देववर्ष ५९ ॥ राजा श्रीसि
 ये देववर्ष ६० ॥ मास ६ ॥ तेन हि कुं विहारयेत्तच्छरुतवान् ॥ राजा श्रीमन्ने देववर्ष ६१ ॥
 तेन यमपुत्रि मरुतारकाय वर्ष नेक रत्न विचित्रकोषं संप्रदत्तं ॥ तेनैव सुवर्णं पुनात्तं त्रिपुरये

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ननपत्रपातमहारकायम्बनकरत्नविचित्रकोषसप्तदश॥ तत्रैवसुवर्णमुमालीविपुरे

सुवर्णमण्डलिवक्तवान्॥ राजाञ्जीनिमदेववर्ष१६॥ तस्येरासस्वर्ष११॥ विनिर्जिमपुनश्चुगो
पासवीसराज्यं करोति॥ राजाञ्जीविसुगुप्तवर्ष१७॥ तेनहितीनया लविमुभदारकस्यसुवर्ण
दमउपसोभितदेवालयं चकरोत्॥ राजाविसुगुप्तवर्ष१८॥ तेनपुनश्चुगोहतरिनामयवि
मुभदारकेश्वर॥ नदीपारेकृतवान्अपरेश्वनेकविसुगुप्तमिमाचुतिखितानेपालिचमोरी
मागरीपिविशेषम्बवर्त्ततेति॥ राजाञ्जीनुमिगुप्तवर्ष१८॥ ॥ भूमोपिस्वर्षदीशेराज्यं
चकार॥ राजाञ्जीनिवदेववर्ष१९॥ तदग्निपराजम्बुछयस्मार्धवर्ष१९॥ तेनअसुवर्णमलि
प्यम्बुहारायकृतवान्॥ धिएकादिज्यहारेतिपिविशेषं चकरोत्॥ व्याकर्णपास्त्रम्बु

नवान्तस्वराजपुत्रञ्जीमानतः॥ गच्छेद्वरुणागतेननेपालविहारसुतिष्ठितवान्कृत्य
वर्ष१०॥ राजाञ्जीकृतवर्षावर्ष१०॥ राजाञ्जीनिमार्जुनदेववर्ष३७॥ राजाञ्जीनन्देवव
र्ष१२॥ राजाञ्जीः किवदेववर्ष१६॥ तेनहियम्बपतिमहारकायस्वनेष्यवर्षोभितयक्षः
निर्मितेदमीयविहारकृत१०॥ यथासुखीमिसुम्बकताशास्यादिच्च॥ राजाञ्जीनन्दे
ववर्ष३७॥ वन्दुदत्तेनदेवाञ्जनैर्गुगुम्बहारकस्यललितपद्मेयात्राकृत॥ राजाञ्जीवले
ववर्ष१७॥ राजाञ्जीरीकरदेववर्ष१२॥ राजाञ्जीवर्धमानदेववर्ष१६॥ राजाञ्जीरीकरदे
ववर्ष१२॥ राजाञ्जीनिमार्जुनदेववर्ष१६॥ राजाञ्जीजयदेववर्ष१२॥ राजाञ्जीवचदेवव
र्ष१६॥ तेनपुनश्चपतिमहारकस्वनामनाकोषदम्ब॥ पञ्चारभोटमण्डलेस्वराज्यं करोति॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ देवकुलं च पुनर्लक्ष्म ॥ राक्षसाभि काञ्च कृतविहास्य धारत भगवती मनो
हर भट्टारका ययति छिती ॥ राजा श्री वामदेव वर्ष ३ ॥ राजा श्री हर्ष देव वर्ष १५ ॥ उन विस
त्रिप्रतिसम्बरद्वयवर्तमानः ॥ राजा श्री वामदेव वर्ष ३ ॥ राजा श्री हर्ष देव वर्ष १५ ॥ शिव
देव वर्ष ३९ मास ९ ॥ तेन हि यमुपति भट्टारकस्य स्वर्णमृत्बली धारदने कृता ॥ तत्तकीः
र्जिभक्त्या मेवलदनीय वैद्यायानी तापुना लिकां पुस्कराणी सकलजगन्मन्त्रकृता च
नुर्भन्तिके पंचप्रसरस १० युक्त १ श्रीभराजा गृह १० मुनिखादिनी ॥ श्रीमत्पुत्रपति
भट्टारकस्य राजतय भूपुनर्घीठित पर्व दीममवहारना सिस्वरर्ण रत्निकस्तवे स्त्री
सिंहाकृतरूपं दमकृतं वैवहारस्वर्णमयी श्रीवस्या कृतिनिशि विकींच कृत्य पूर्वति

त्वरे देवस्य परिभारसहिते न जीर्णो आरंभः ॥ राजाश्वी ईन्द्रदेववर्ष १२ ॥ राजाश्वी मान
 देववर्ष ४ मासः ॥ राजाश्वी नरेन्द्रदेववर्ष ६ मास ४ माघ कृत्स्नवर्षमाश्रयति पदसप्त
 दिक्षिके काले वर्षसप्तद्वये अमर्दिने राजवंशे राण्यते ॥ तेषां लंसे मस्तम एतमही पाल
 पुजा माशने पीअशास्त्ररासुरभितगतो अश्वी नरेन्द्रदेवपुत्रे तेन हि मन्त्रगामे शिवगले दोले क
 देवालय कर्त्ते देवहृदयपुत्रि किं ॥ त्रिपुरसहिता एजधानिषति छित्ते ॥ राजकुलखनीये स
 वरण्य एली कता ॥ अग्निपालमहीम एली कमहा पात्रमुखसमस्त प्रभवा ना पुत्र्योत्रदि
 क्षि किं ॥ सताय दुःखाग्निप्रयिष्टिने हृदयानां यदीधनप्रवर्त्तते ॥ धाराय कृतातो जोर
 कमान हृत्य महासेन कर्त्ते अकृदिने ना हि का सुध्वे पा ल कृतवान् ॥ राजाश्वी नरेन्द्रवर्ष

३०॥सम्बत २६७ योष फलसन्त्रयोदसां शुक्रदिनश्री हृदेयपुष्पा निषेकं कृतवान् रात्रौ ॥
पुष्पा निषेकान्तुषारवृक्षिभूभवति ॥ राजाश्रीस्तद्देववर्ष ८० मास १॥ राजाश्रीमज्ज
देववर्ष ३ मास ११ माहातुर्विंशं भवति ॥ सम्बत २६८ कार्तिके फलसन्त्रयोदसां शुक्रदिन
रात्रौ योष फलसन्त्रयोदसां शुक्रदिनश्री हृदेयपुष्पा निषेकं कृतवान् ॥ राजाश्रीस्तद्देववर्ष ८० मास १॥
राजमहिन्द्रदेवत कर्तृमहन्सरोवर ॥ सम्बत २३९ वैशाख शुक्लपुर्णमासी राजाश्रीगुणा
कामदेवपुष्पाय कृतवान् ॥ सम्बत ३०५ पौष शुक्लसप्तम्या भोमकोसरे ॥ राजाश्रीवि
जयकामदेववर्ष मास ॥ राजाश्रीश्रिरिमसे देववर्ष ३१ मास २॥ तस्य राज्यं मरकट
निसेवपातुर्नतः दैमेनश्चन्द्रकुण्डयमभूत् ॥ राजाश्रीश्रयमल्लदेववर्ष ४८ मास २॥

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हामा रिश्रुनावृष्टिदुर्मिसिपुजासयभूमिकपद्धतीर्ग ॥ सम्बत ३७५ आषाढाशुक्ल २ पुन
र्वसुसोमवासरे ॥ राजाश्रीजयदेववर्ष २ मास ७॥ राजाश्रीश्रयमल्लदेववर्ष ३२ मास १०
॥ श्रीपशुपतिभट्टारकस्य ध्याजातो हतं कर्तृ ॥ श्रीपशुपतिभट्टारकाय मेखलोदेत ॥ त
स्य राजादुराभं विनायकमरवतं भक्तपुत्रिनाशं करोति ॥ सम्बत ४८८ पौषमासज
यतारिष्विषयपथसे ॥ सम्बत ४९४ कारुणामासदिनीयावारपुष्यविषुखनिष्ठा ॥ सम्बत
४९९ माघमासतिस्तुतिमाभगतगामेयविषुख ॥ सम्बत ४९९ माघमासतिस्तुतिमाभ
लीतगामेयविषुख ॥ राक्षसेति संताप दण्डयन्ते पात्रस्य वर्षधनं महत्पीडा ॥ ॥ नेपा
लेयुवराजिनी विश्रमेदविना कृतसः सोमेश्वरनीमं देवकृतपुनः चंगुदेवास्य कर्तृभूजातो ह

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लपुबराजना॥वरमदावनास्तपःसामम्बरनामिद्वैकृतपुनःचण्डवस्तयकृतध्वजारोह

नच॥पुनःइदुकुप्यतिष्ठितध्वजारोहनीय॥जयशक्तेर्मताविरमेदेवी॥तत्रान्तेरराज
मानदेववर्षे॥अनन्तरेजयलेङ्गमस्तस्यजातजम्बीजयसुदुमस्तदेवस्यपुत्रेनस्व
कुटुम्बज्जीजयालीमस्तदेवपुण्याभिषेकेकृतसराजालुक्तिमात्रीदेवो॥समस्तवेपाल
जयरुद्रैतिनवज्येष्ठराज्यकरोतिनेपालभक्त्यामेष्ठचविक्रितवहुतर्जययसुदुमस्त
गोस्त॥मन्वत४४६३धावाळपुणिमादारा४समेत॥तस्यकुमारजायमानकृतिपद्य
दिवसान्तरेमनु॥पुत्रीसतीतायकुटुम्बीनामपितामहिबीयसुमलदेवीतांपुनियालि
तपुत्रीदेवलदेवीविद्योपरिभक्त्यामेराजंकृतवान्॥मएणदिपुणालीकृतमतिनेमा
धवस्थानेतत्रान्तरेअदिपमस्तनेपालप्रविष्ट॥सम्वत४४८चैत्रशुक्लमणिमासुत्तरः

फाल्गुणिशुक्लदिनेललितगामेदोडनभवति॥तत्राम्भरेकाशास्वरसोमवीशहरिश्चन्द्र
वसमागमनयेनेविवाहिकरोतिभीमायकदेवीकृतिपयवधन्निरेणिकेनविषमभूतनेपा
मनु॥कृतिपयपात्रस्यध्वजानयति॥तत्रान्तरेकर्णाटवीशजम्बीजगतिदेवसमाहितसः
गत्त्युर्ध्वेअराजलेसीदेवीभामदशादिगन्तेभानास्वर्गगच्छतिवितामस्यायतिकळे
नपुतिपालिताअदेवलदेविनामकृत्यवालीपुतिपालिताजीविताय॥अथाम्भरेअपि
अयेतिज्ञेदेववीधनंकरोतिनेपालसमस्तसम्भनेनउभयराजकुलसंप्रधानेनसं४६४
वृणक्तसं४॥राजाजीजयदेवकृतसर्वसम्भनेनसं४६९वेणवसुक्त९तस्यपिताजीज
यानदेवमाताललितगाम्भउत्तरविहारराजेकुमालपात्रस्यपुत्री॥जयराजेदेवस

भूमाः। कमु एव ह्यस्वभास एड्ड। ककणः। कमु बाजु मोज निजग त्तारे ह्मणे एणे। १८

तस्माद्विविधानवयवित्ससद्विद्याश्चितः श्रीजगज्ज्योतिर्मस्ति नरेन्द्रवतिसकिभूतो
द्विपके तहः॥ तत्सुतुः श्रीसुमन्त्रियवितामित्रमस्मात्त्वजश्रीभूषतीन्द्रमल्लत
स्यात्कनश्रीरागादिभस्मस्तेन वर्ष ४८ राज्यं कृतवान् श्रीदेवसप्तकोशिकाश्रीराज्यं
तवानप्यखानि ४६ समये कासिमराणां जातं॥ नेपालसम्बत ८१० कार्तिक शुक्ल एकाद
शी रात्रिस्मिन्ने गोरक्षपिपभयश्रीदेवादेशाह्मराहु --- -- -- सोम्व
भोजयमहा राजश्रीपृथ्वीनारायणसाहयहाहुरसम्भोजइदेवेन श्रीराणाजितम्भ
श्रीजयशंकरासम्भोजश्रीतेजनरसिम्भस्मपत्रय निजित्यदेहस एडपलेलितपह
नभगातय दुननगरत्रयाधिश कृतवान् चपथ्यसप्तकोशिकिसप्तगण्डकाश्रं राज्यं

राज्यं
१२

१२

कृतवान् ह्मराजान निजित्यराजं कृतवान् वर्ष ५२ श्रीरागके १५२ माघ कृष्ण दश
म्यां श्रीपृथ्वीनारायणस्य पुत्र श्रीपृथापसिहसाहबहाहुरसम्भोजइदेवेन वर्ष
२ मास ११ राज्यं कृतवान् तत् श्रीरागके १५२ मार्गसिध कृष्ण त्रिमास्यो तस्य पुत्र
श्रीराणवहाहुरसाहबहाहुरसम्भोजइदेवराजावभवतेन श्रीरागके १७० माघ
शुक्लपंचदश्यां त्रिभुगा बिस श्रीहरकृत्तगरदत्त सेनश्रीदेव निजित्य कालिगण्डका
श्रीराज्यं कृतवान्ः सम्बत १७४६ साले भाद्रपद १५ वासिपक्ष शुक्ल रात्रिः
निजित्य ततपश्चात् सम्बत १७४७ साले फोष शुद्धि १० जास कोठथया काउखुरे

लेष च काश काम डो टि कु मां उं ग ठ का ल म्पी न ग र ह रि क र त स्य द छि न गे गो म री
उ त्त ख द रि के रा र ई म्प तै र म्प नि जि मि ॥ ॥



(Folio 1A) Salutation to Lord Gaṇapati, Salutation to Lord Paśupati! In course of time, with the advent of the Kali Yuga, mighty kings, whose feet were decorated with the garland of crowns of all (lesser) kings, began to rule the earth. Situated in the middle of the Himalayan range, in the land originally covered with a dense forest, Lord Bhṛṅgāreśvara Bhaṭṭāraka emerged. Gautama and other sages founded Gautameśvara and other shrines. At that time/thereafter, Lord Bhṛṅgāreśvara Bhaṭṭāraka was roaming about the Śleṣmāntaka forest. There was then a cowherd named Nepa. His brown cow visited daily the bank of the river Vāgvatī to worship at a particular spot with streaming milk. Lord Paśupati emerged from the spot where the cow worshipped by shedding her milk. Lord Paśupati was erected/founded on the spot by Nepa the cowherd. Thereafter the Kings of the Gopāla dynasty ruled one after another. Among them the first was Śrī Bhunmāga, 84 years; King Śrī Jayagupta, 73 years and 3 months; Kings Śrī Para(ma)gupta.

(Folio 1B) 91 years; King Śrī Harṣagupta, 67 years; King Śrī Bhimagupta, 38 years; King Śrī Maṇigupta, 37 years; King Śrī Viṣṇugupta, 46 years; King Śrī Jayagupta, 71 years and 1 month. These eight kings of the Gopāla dynasty ruled (the country). Then after defeating the Gopāla Kings, the Kings of the Mahi(ṣa)pāla dynasty ruled the country. King Śrī Varasiṃha, 49 years; King Śrī Jayasiṃha, 21 years and 7 months; King Śrī Bhavansiṃha, 41 years. These were the Gopāla and the Mahiṣapāla Kings. Then the Kings of the Kirāta dynasty ruled the land. King Śrī Elam, 90 year; King Śrī Paṃmi, 79 years and 3 months; King Śrī Dhaskam, 37 years; King Śrī Valamca, 31 years and 6 months; King Śrī Hrnti, 41 years and 1 month; King Śrī Humatti, 50 years; King Śrī Tuska, 41 years and 8 months; King Śrī Srupastha, 38 years.

(Folio 2A) and 6 months; King Śrī Parva, 46 years; King Śrī Jityadāstī, 60 years; King Śrī Paṃcyam, 71 years; King Śrī Kyamkyamkyam, 56 years; King Śrī Svananda, 50 years and 8 months; King Śrī Sthumko, 58 years; King Śrī Gighr, 60 years and 6 months; King Śrī Janya, 73 years and 2 months; King Śrī Luke, 60 years and 1 month; King Śrī Thora, 71 years; King Śrī Thomkvo, 83 years; King Śrī Chamma, 73 years and 6 months; King Śrī Gujam, 72 years and 2 months; King Śrī Puskam, 81 years; King Śrī Tyasnu, 56 years; King Śrī Sugmam, 58 years; King Śrī Sasa, 63 years; King Śrī Guṇam, 74 years; King Śrī Khimnu, 74 years; King Śrī Galijam, 81 years. These were the Kirāta Kings. In the meantime, the origin of the Sun-kings is given: At the end of the aeon,

(Folio 2B) Brahmā emerged from the lotus which sprouted from the navel of Lord Viṣṇu. Marīci was Brahmā's son. Kaśyapa was Marīci's son. Sūrya was Kaśyapa's son. Manu was Sūrya's son. Manu's son was Kākutstha. Veṇu was Kākutstha's son. Puṣya was Veṇu's son. Ananya was Puṣya's son; Ananya's son was Prthu; Prthu's son was Triśaṅkara; Dhūmdhimāra was Triśaṅkara's son; Pavanāśva was Dhūmdhimāra's son; Māmdhātā was Pavanāśva's son; Susamdhī was Māmdhātā's son; Dhṛtisamdhī was Susamdhī's son; Bharata was Dhṛtisamdhī's son; Asita was Bharata's son; Sagara was Asita's son; Asamaṃja was Sagara's son; Aṃsumāna was Asamaṃja's son; Dilīpa was Aṃsumāna's son; Bhagīratha was Dilīpa's son; Kakutstha was Bhagīratha's son; Raghu was Kakutstha's son; Kalmāṣapāda.

(Folio 3A) was Raghu's son; Kalmāṣapāda's son was Saṃkhaṇa; Saṃkhan's son was Samudrasena; Samudrasena's son was Agnivarṇa; Agnivarṇa's son was Śrigarga; Śrigarga's son was Paśusruta; Paśusruta's son was Ambarīṣa; Ambarīṣa's son was Nahuṣa; Nahuṣa's son was Canābhāga; Canābhāga's son was Aja; Aja's son was Daśaratha; Daśaratha's son was Rāma; Rāma's sons were Lava and Kuśa; Lava's son came in the same line. These were the kings who ruled Ayodhyā. Then in the line of Ikṣvāku, Viśāla was born. Hemacandra was Viśāla's son; Hemacandra's son was Sucandra; Dhumā (Dhumāśva?) was Sucandra's son; Śmṛjaya was Dhumā's son; Suvarṇakhaṇī was Śmṛjaya's son; Kṛśāśva was Suvarṇakhaṇī's son; Somadatta was Kṛśāśva's son; Janmejaya was (born in the line of) the son of Somadatta; Pramiti was Janmejaya's son.

(Folio 3B) Pramiti's son was Matīman; These kings who descended from Sūrya ruled Vīmānanagarī. Then the Kīrātas entered Nepal; they were (again) vanquished by the descendants of the line of the Sun-Kings. King Śrī Nimiṣitaṃkāla, 50 years; King Śrī Matārātra 91 years; King Śrī Kākavarmā, 76 years; King Śrī Śaṣṭpuspadeva, 56 years; he introduced the four varṇa system (the caste system) in Nepal. He put up a roof over the temple of Śrī Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka and beautified it. (He enforced all the laws of the State, and ruled over his subjects with justice-- reconstructed on the basis of V₁--KPM) He also initiated the use of an era or calendar. King Śrī Bhāskaravarmā, 74 years. The King received a boon/blessing from Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka. As a result, he conquered the city of Kāncananagara, right upto the southern sea. From there he brought rare jewels, gold and golden ornaments.

(Folio 4A) all of which were offered to Śrī Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka. King Śrī Bhūmivarmā, 41 years; King Śrī Candravarmā, 21 years; King Śrī Jayavarmā, 62 years; King Śrī Varṣavarmā, 57 years; King Śrī Sarvavarmā, 40 years; King Śrī Prthvivarmā, 56 years; King Śrī Jyēsthavarmā, 48 years; King Śrī Kuberavarmā, 64 years; King Śrī Harivarmā, 76 years; King Śrī Siddhivarmā, 61 years; King Śrī Haridattavarmā, 29 years; he completed the temples of four Viṣṇu bhāṭṭāraka-s, situated in the four hillocks. King Śrī Vasudatta, 33 years; King Śrī Siripātavarmā, 3 years; King Śrī Vṛddhivarmā, 77 years; King Śrī Vasantadeva 61 years;

(from Folio 4A line 6 to Folio 4B line 7 the copist has repeated the king-list once again, beginning from Śrī Puspadeva to Śrī Vasantadeva; the repeated lines have been left out in the translation-KPM) King Śrī Sivadeva, 57 years;

(Folio 5A) King Śrī Vṛṣadeva, 57 years. He founded the great Sāṃgu caitya (Svayambhū). He also installed a trident on the northern side of the temple of Śrī Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka. King Śrī Śaṅkaradeva, 50 years; King Śrī Dharmadeva, 51 years; he commissioned the big south-facing pedestal with a bull on the top at the shrine of Paśupati. He also founded the caitya bhāṭṭāraka of Dasana (V₁ 21a:3 has dhamare cetya bhāṭarike--KPM). Thereafter, Śrī Mānadeva, who was an adopted

son not born in the family, became the king, 39 years. He had a vision of Svayambhūcaitya bhāṭṭāraka (in his dream?). He founded Mānavihāra. He built the capital city and the palace Mānagrīha, with seven courtyards/ storeys and two oblong lakes/ponds. surrounded on all four sides with He became the sovereign of Nepal. Inside Mānagrīha.

(Folio 5B) he constructed a temple for God which had been excavated with gold/ for the God The King's wife Bhoginī emmolated herself on the funeral pyre of the King. In Mānavihāra, the copper-plate roof he had built earlier was enlarged, and the land endowments of the monastery, too, were increased. He himself founded/initiated the use of a new epoch era. King Śrī Mahīdeva, 51 years; King Śrī Vasantadeva, 56 years; King Śrī Udayadeva, 47 years; King Śrī Mānadeva, 4 years. During his reign there was drought for three years. In order to bring rains, he offered a gift of jewels to Śrī Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka. King Sunakāmadeva, 50 years; King Śrī Śivadeva, 41 years and 6 months. He founded the Kudvaṃ Vihāra Caitya. King Śrī Narendradeva, 34 years; he offered Śrī Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka a gift consisting of several precious jewels. At the same shrine, he also constructed a gilded water-conduit, a royal palace (Tripura),

(Folio 6A) and a golden orb/halo(?). King Śrī Bhīmadeva, 16 years. Thereafter, defeating the Sun-Kings, the Kings of the Gopāla dynasty ruled over Nepal again. King Śrī Viṣṇugupta, 74 years. He built a temple to Śrī Tina(la)pala Viṣṇu bhāṭṭāraka and decorated it with a gilded roof. King Śrī Viṣṇugupta, 61 years. He constructed a big stone-image of Viṣṇu bhāṭṭārakeśvara by the river at Paśupati. After this he consecrated several images of Viṣṇu. He also popularised the Gauri (Gauḍiya?) Nāgarī script in Nepal. King Śrī Bhumigupta, 45 years. Thereafter, the Kings of the Solar Dynasty ruled again. King Śrī Śivadeva, 41 years; his sister's son, King Aṃśuvarma, 43 years. He popularised the Aṃśuvarma script. He also brought into use the lump assessment of land rent on the entire village-basis(?) He also composed a treatise on the science of grammar.

(Folio 6B) His son Śrī Mānavarmā (?) Thereafter, the King of Gauda (Bengal) came to found Nepāla Vihāra, 10 years. King Śrī Kṛtavarmā, 18 years; King Śrī Bhīmārjunadeva, 37 years; King Śrī Nandadeva, 13 years; King Śrī Śivadeva, 16 years; he offered Śrī Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka an eight petalled silver lotus. He also founded Deyīya Vihāra (V₁22b:5 has Nandīśāla Vihāra--KPM), 10 years; he also created endowments to make the monks happy and their education in the scriptures possible. King Śrī Narendradeva, 37 years. With the help of Bandhudatta's magical powers he initiated the chariot-festival of Vuṅga bhāṭṭāraka in Lalitapattana. King Śrī Baladeva, 17 years; King Śrī Śaṅkaradeva, 12 years; King Śrī Vardhamānadeva, 16 years; King Śrī Śaṅkaradeva, 12 years; King Śrī Bhīmārjunadeva, 16 years; King Śrī Jayadeva 19 years; King Śrī Baladeva, 16 years; he donated a gift in his own name to Śrī Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka. Thereafter, he began to rule over Bhoṭa-maṇḍala (the Kingdom of Tibet).

(Folio 7A) King Śrī Kendradeva, 27 years; again, his rule extended without difficulties upto the borders of Bhota. King Śrī Jayadeva, 49 years and 11 months; King Śrī Baladeva, 11 years; King Śrī Balārjunadeva, 36 years and 7 months. In the company of his brother and his wife, he offered his crown to Vuṅga bhaṭṭārikā. King Śrī Mānadeva, 36 years. He erected the big palace on the banks of the river Bala-khu(?). King Śrī Rāghavadeva, 63 years and 8 months. He founded the epoch-era of Śrī Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka. King Śrī Śaṅkaradeva, 18 years and 6 months; King Śrī Sahadeva, 33 years and 9 months; King Śrī Vikramadeva, 1 year; King Śrī Narendradeva, 1 year and 6 months; King Śrī Guṇakāmadeva, 85 years and 6 months; he offered Śrī Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka eleven gifts. At the same shrine, at Isāneśvara, Vāsuki bhaṭṭāraka's temple was constructed with a copper-plate roof. There a long rest-house was built together with a gilded water-conduit. He performed the koṭi homa.

(Folio 7B) King Śrī Udayadeva, 6 years; King Nirbhayadeva, 5 years; King Śrī Bhojadeva-Rudradeva, 9 years and 7 months; King Bhojadeva destroyed the mandapikā (a small public assembly-hall?). King Śrī Lakṣmikāmadeva, 21 years; he performed propitiatory rites to bring peace to the nation in the year....; King Śrī Jayadeva, 20 years. He ruled the half kingdom of Lalitapura for 10 years; King Śrī Bhāskara-deva-Jayadeva, joint rule, 7 years and 4 months. He (Bhāskaradeva) sold the crown of his father. The golden image of Manohara (Mahottara in the text) bhaṭṭāraka was also destroyed by him. He became blind because of these ignoble deeds. King (Śrī) Baladeva, 12 years. He brought affluence to the nation. He built Haripura in Vajraratha. King Śrī Padmadeva, 6 years. He built or commissioned a new crown. King Śrī Nāgārjunadeva, 3 years; King Śrī Śaṅkaradeva, 17 years. He consecrated the Śaṅkaresvara bhaṭṭāraka at Nandiśāla and completed a temple over it.

(Folio 8A) He maintained peace in the nation. He constructed a monastery and founded the temple of Bhagavatī manohara bhaṭṭāraka. King Śrī Vāmadeva, 3 years; King Śrī Harṣadeva, 16 years; he ruled till the year 219; King Śrī Śivadeva, 27 years and 7 months. He covered the temple of Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka with a gilded roof. He built embankments along the river Baladevī (Balkhu?) in Kīrtibhaktagrāma (Kīrtipur), and water-conduits and ponds for the good of his people. He built a five-storeyed royal palace with four courtyards. He donated a new silver lotus to Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka. In the past, (silver) dramma was not in use; gold/pieces of gold were used as rakṭtikā or coins. Śrī Śivadeva brought into use the silver dramma minted with his name "Śrī Śiṃha" and the gold Śivakā inscribed with "Śrī Śiva".

(Folio 8B) The eastern Śikharaṇārāyaṇa (Caṅgu) was repaired, including the other attendant deities in the shrine. King Śrī Indradeva, 12 years; King Śrī Mānadeva, 4 years and 7 months; King Śrī Narendradeva, 6 years and 4 months. On the auspicious day of Monday, Pratipadā, Māgha Kṛṣṇa, N.S. 267 (King Śrī Anandadeva) was crowned. He ruled the whole Nepāla Maṇḍala, protected his subjects from ruin, removed their sufferings. King Śrī Anandadeva who was endowed with several virtues, built(?)

according to the precepts of the scriptures. He built two temples at Śivagala ṭola (Bhaktapur). He built the capital-city together with the Tripura Palace. Close to the Palace he dug a gilded water-conduit. He allowed real estate transactions by the King, his Ministers as well as the commoners, which remained valid for generations. He ameliorated their sufferings, played the role of a great reformer by destroying all the mischief-makers in the kingdom. He wrote/commissioned the play Sudhanapāla to be played on Fridays. King Śrī (Ā)nandadeva.

(Folio 9A) 20 years. On Friday, Pauṣa Kṛṣṇa 13, Saṃvat 267 (scribal error for 287--KPM), King Śrī Rudradeva was crowned. There was a heavy snowfall during the coronation. King Śrī Rudradeva, 80 years and 1 month; King Śrī Amrtadeva, 3 years and 11 months. There was a big famine during his rule. King Śrī Someśvaradeva was crowned on Friday, Kārttika Kṛṣṇa 6, Saṃvat 299. King Someśvaradeva ruled for 6 years and 3 months. Crown Prince Mahīndradeva's pious deed, Mahendrasarvāra, was completed on Vaiśākha Śukla 15, Saṃvat 239. On Tuesday, Pauṣa Śukla 7, Saṃvat 305, King Śrī Guṇakāmadeva was crowned. King Śrī Vijayakāmadeva,.... years.... months (VK has 6 years and 7 months; VG has 50 years and 7 months, but there are no figures in this text-KPM). King Śrī Arimalladeva, 31 years and 9 months. During his reign an epidemic known as maraka visited the land and a dramma bought two kuruwās of grains only. King Śrī Abhayamalladeva, 48 years and 2 months.

(Folio 9B) His rule witnessed famine, drought and earthquake, terminating in the death of the King. On Monday, Punarvasu nakṣatra, Āṣāḍha Śukla 2, Saṃvat 375, King Śrī Jayadeva was crowned; he ruled for 2 years and 7 months; King Śrī Anantamalladeva, 32 years and 10 months. He performed the ceremony of dhvajārohana at Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka and offered a mekhalā (a chain) at the shrine. During the misrule of this king, the mischievous Kumaravana(?) destroyed Bhaktapura. Saṃvat 408, in the month of Pauṣa, Jayatārī entered the Valley for the first time. The Khaśiyās entered the Valley for the second time in the month of Phālguna, Saṃvat 414. In the month of Māgha, Saṃvat 411, the Tirahutiyās entered Bhaktagrāma. In Māgha, Saṃvat 413, the Tirahutiyās entered Lalitagrāma. The country/nation was in great distress; the invaders extorted ransom; ministers and courtiers suffered in confinement. The temple of Someśvaranimam (Svanīma in Patan?) was the pious deed of Princess Viramadevī; she also performed the ceremony of dhvajārohana at the temple of Cāṅgu,

(Folio 10A) and consecrated the temple of Indrakūṭa after the ceremony of dhvajārohana was performed. Viramadevī was Jayaśaktideva's mother. Thereafter, under the influence of Śrī Jayarudramalladeva, son of Jayatuṅgamalla, his own relative Śrī Jayārīmalla was crowned as the King though he was given nominal powers only. The whole of Nepal, including Navakoṣṭha (Nuwakot) was actually ruled by Jayarudramalla himself. He sold much land in Bhaktagrāma. Jayarudramalla died on Saṃvat 446 Āṣāḍha Pūrṇimā (VK has 546, an impossible date--KPM); four wives burnt themselves on his pyre. His son had died after some days

of birth. His daughter, Nāyakadevī, was brought up by her paternal grandmother Śrī Pādumaladevī and her daughter Devaladevī who jointly ruled over Bhaktagrāma (as regents?). They constructed maṇḍapas and waterconduits at Tīlamādhavasthāna (in Bhaktapur). Thereafter, Ādityamalla entered the Nepal Valley. In Saṃvat 448 Caitra Sukla Pūrṇimā,

(Folio 10B) Uttara Phālgunī Nakṣatra, Friday, Lalitagrāma was besieged. After this, with the arrival of Hariścandra-deva of the Soma Dynasty of Kāśī, Śrī Nāyakadevī was given in marriage to him. He died of poisoning by courtiers some years later. Several ministers and courtiers respected/recognized Nāyakadevī (as a legitimate claimant to the throne?) Thereafter, Śrī Jagatasīmhadeva of Karṇāṭa Dynasty took her as an unwed wife. A daughter, named Śrī Rājalladevī was born of this union. However, ten days after her birth, the mother (Nāyakadevī) passed away. The paternal grandmother, Śrī Devaladevī, brought her up with a great deal of suffering. The child managed to survive and grow up(?). Thereafter, Śrī Paśupatimalla (the pretender to the throne?) was put in confinement. The whole of Nepal, both the Royal Houses and their courtiers assembled to come to an agreement on succession to the throne. In Saṃvat 464, (467?) Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa 4, Śrī Jaya(rāja)deva was made the King with common consent. On Vaiśākha Śukla 7, 467, (Śrī Jayārjunadeva, the son of Śrī Jayarājadeva and his wife Śrī Rudramādevī, was born-- reconstructed on the basis of V₁:28b 2-3--KPM). Śrī Jayarājadeva's father was Śrī Jayānandadeva and mother was a daughter of Rājendrapāla, a feudatory of Uttara Vihāra (Patan). Jayarājadeva's wife was

(Folio 11A) named Śrī Rudramalladeva of the Karṇāṭa Dynasty (V₁:28b:2-3 has Śrī Jayarājadevasya patnī Śrī Rudramadevīsa tasya putra Śrī Jayārjunadeva jāta -- the deliberate falsification of medieval history appears to have begun at this point where the narrative fumbles and makes a total nonsense of the V₁---KPM). His son Śrī... at this time the two Royal Houses were united. In Saṃvat 468 Śrī Devaladevī offered a gift at Paśupati. In Saṃvat 469 Śrī Jayarājadeva offered a gift at Śrī Paśupati. Thereafter the Sultān of the East came. Now the chronicle begins. In Śaka Saṃvat 1019, Śrāvaṇa Śukla Dvitiyā, Saturday, Svāstī nakṣatra, Rīpumārda lagnā, King Śrī Nānyadeva founded the Kingdom (of Tirahuta or Tribhukti at Sīmarāvanagaḍha). The founder of the Kingdom, Nānyadeva, was succeeded by Śrī Gaṅgadeva. His son Narasīmhadeva succeeded him. Śrī Narasīmhadeva was succeeded by Śrī Rāmasīmha. His son, Bhavasīmha, succeeded him. Bhavasīmha was succeeded by Śrī Karmasīmha. His son, Harasīmhadeva, the jewel of the Karṇāṭa Kings, succeeded him. In Śaka 1245 (scribal error for 1247?) on Saturday, Pauṣa Śukla Navamī,

(Folio 11B) due to misfortune Harasīmhadeva left his capital and entered the mountains. As the moon is born of the sea, Vallalsīmha was born of Harasīmhadeva. The famous and noble King Śrī Devamallā was born of Vallalsīmha. From Devamallā was born Śrī Nāgamallā. His son was the pious and noble Aśokamallā. Śrī Jayasthitimalladeva was his son. King Jayayakṣamallā was born of him. He was noble and famous. His son was Rayamallā. His son was famous Bhuvanamallā. His son was the pious Prāṇamallā. His son was Viśvamallā. His son was Trailokyamallā. As the moon rises out of the sea, the rays/light out of the sun, Śrī Jaggatjyotirmallā, a king as learned and pious as Karna or Arjuna

(Folio 12A), was born of Trailokyamalla. He was the best of all kings. His son was Śrī Sumatijayajitāmitramalla. His son was Śrī Bhupatīndramalla. His son was Śrī Raṇajītmalla who ruled for 48 years--upto the Seven Kośīs. In old age, he went to live and die at Kaśī. In Nepāla Samvat 890 Kārttika Śukla 11, the King of Gorkhā entered Bhaktagrāma--the city with 12,000 houses. The Somavamśī King Śrī 5 Pṛthvinārāyaṇa. Śāha Bahādura Samśera Jaṅgadeva conquered Kāsthamaṇḍapa, Lalitapaṭṭana, and Bhaktapaṭṭana by defeating the three kings: Śrī Raṇajītmalla, Śrī Jayaprakāśamalla and Śrī Tejanarasimhamalla. Then he ruled upto the Seven Kośīs and the Seven Gaṇḍakīs.

(Folio 12B) He defeated several rulers and ruled over their territories. He lived for 52 years. He died on Śaka 1696 Māgha Kṛṣṇa 10. After him, his son Śrī Pratāpasimha Śāha Bahādura Samśera Jaṅgadeva became the king. He ruled for 2 years and 11 months. In Śaka 1699, Mārgasirṣa Kṛṣṇa 3, his son, Śrī Raṇabahādura Śāha Bahādura Samśera Jaṅgadeva became the King. In the year Śaka 1700 Māgha Śukla 5, after defeating the feudatory Śrī Harikumāradattasena of Trituṅga (Tanahun), he ruled up to the River Kālī Gaṇḍakī. In Samvat 1846, Āśāḍha Śukla 15, the principality of Jumlā was conquered. Then in Samvat 1847, (AD 1790) Jājarkot, Thapālā, Dullu, Dailekha,

(Folio 13A) Āchāma, Dotī, Kumāun, Gaṛhawāla Śrinagara, Haridvāra, Gaṅgottarī in the south, Badrī, Kedāra in the north-- all these territories/principalities were conquered.

विक्रमशील महाविहारको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व

रुक्मिणी वन्त प्रधान
सिनास

बौद्धधर्मको विकासको दृष्टिले काठमाडौं उपत्यका निकै विचारणीय रहेको छ। बुद्धको अन्तिम समयताका नै यस उपत्यकामा बौद्धधर्मको प्रवेश भएको संकेत मूलसर्वास्ति विनयवस्तु आदिवाट पाइन्छ^१। शाक्य, कोली आदिको बसोबासले पनि उक्त कुराको केही पुष्टि हुन्छ^२। लिच्छविकालको प्रवेश पछि यहाँ बौद्धधर्मको अफ बढी प्रसार भएको पाइन्छ^३। लिच्छविकालका शासक तथा जनताले बौद्ध धर्मप्रति आस्था देखाएका हुँदा त्यसवेला यहाँ अनेक बौद्ध विहारहरू बने^४। अंशुवर्माको समयताका आएर भोट चीनसँग नेपालको सौम्य सम्बन्ध कायम भएपछि त्यसले यहाँ बौद्धधर्मको प्रचार प्रसारमा समेत फन बल पुऱ्यायो^५।

प्राचीनकालमा जस्तै मध्यकालमा पनि यहाँ बौद्धधर्मको प्रसार हुँदै गयो। त्यसवेला पनि यहाँ अनेक बौद्ध विहारहरू बने^६। भारतमा बौद्ध विहारहरू नष्ट हुन थालेपछि त काठमाडौं-उपत्यका बौद्ध धर्मको केन्द्र नै बन्यो। विशेष गरी महायानी बौद्ध धर्मको संरक्षण गर्ने काम यहाँ भयो^७।

काठमाडौं उपत्यकाका विहारहरूलाई सामान्यतः दुई वर्गमा विभाजन गरिएको पाइन्छ। एक वहाल र अर्को वहिल। वहाल र वहिलमा उल्लेखनीय अन्तर हुन्छ। वास्तुकलाको दृष्टिले पनि वहाल र वहिलमा केही भिन्नता देखापरेको छ। यसै आधारमा:-

वहाल भन्दा वहिल प्राचीन हो भन्ने अनुमान गरिएको पनि पाइन्छ। वास्तवमा वहालमा सङ्घ (शाक्य भिक्षु, वज्राचार्यहरूको) हुन्छ; वहिलमा प्रायः गरी विधिवत् त्यस्तो सङ्घ हुदैन। वहाल र वहिलमा यही नै प्रमुख अन्तर हो^८।

काठमाडौंका प्रसिद्ध विहारहरूमा विक्रमशील महाविहार पनि एक हो। माथिल्लो भेकमा रहेको प्रसिद्ध विहार हुनाले यसलाई थवहिल पनि भनिन्छ। साथै भगवान्वहाल भन्ने गरेको पनि पाइन्छ। यस विहारको अर्को नाम धर्मधातुमहाविहार भन्ने रहेको पनि पाइन्छ। यसै हुँदा यसलाई भगवान्वहाल भनिएको देखिन्छ।

नेपालमा मात्र होइन, यस विहारको प्रसिद्धि भोट र भारतमा समेत फैलिएको थियो। त्यसकारण यस विहारको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व रहेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ। तर यस विषयमा पर्नु-पर्ने जति प्रकाश नपरेको जस्तो लागेकोले यहाँ केही प्रकाश पार्ने प्रयास गरिएको छ।

भोटमा बौद्ध धर्म फैलाउने विद्वान्हरूमा अतीश, दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञानको प्रमुख स्थान रहेको छ^९। दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञान भारतको प्रसिद्ध विक्रमशील विहारका आठ महापण्डितमध्ये एक थिए^{१०}। विक्रमशीलको स्थापना धर्मपालको समयमा मात्र भएको थियो तापनि यसको प्रसिद्धि भोटसम्म पुगेको थियो। भारतमा त्यसवेला नालन्दा पछि विक्रमशील बौद्धधर्मको

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केन्द्र बनेको थियो। यसै हुँदा विक्रमशील महाविहारका महापण्डित दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञान अतीश-को प्रसिद्धि पनि मोटसम्म पुग्यो। अर्को कुरा दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञान शान्तरक्षित कै कुलका थिए^{१२}। त्यसैले तात्कालिक मोटका शासकले दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञानलाई मोटमा बोलाई बौद्ध-धर्मको प्रसार प्रचार बढाउने अठोट गरे^{१३}। अनि प्रशस्त सुनसाथ मोटे प्रतिनिधि मण्डल अतीशलाई लिन नेपाल भई भारत पुग्यो। ती प्रतिनिधिहरूले अतीशलाई भेटी मोट जाने निमन्त्रणा दिए। दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञान त्यसवेला व्यस्त थिए। यसो हुनाले सो निमन्त्रणा-लाई उनले तत्काल स्वीकार गर्न सकेनन्। साथै श्रद्धासाथ दिइएको निमन्त्रणालाई सोफै अस्वीकार पनि गर्न सकेनन्। अन्त्यमा उनले मोट गई बौद्ध धर्म प्रचार गर्ने दृढ निश्चय गरे^{१४}। अनि उनी मोट जान नेपाल आए। यहाँ उनको भव्य स्वागत गरियो। उल्लेखनीय कुरा, अतीश, दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञान नेपालमा एक वर्ष जति बसे^{१५}। पहिले उनी स्वयंभूमा बसे, अनि थंविहार (थंखिल)मा बसे^{१६}। उनको एक वर्ष काठमाडौं बसाइको एक उल्लेखनीय कुरा, उनले थंविहारलाई विक्रमशील विहारकै परम्परामा जोडे, यसो हुँदा पछि यो थंविहार विक्रमशील महाविहार भनी कहलायो।

दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञानको नेपाल आगमनबारे हाम्रो स्रोतमा कहीं उल्लेख पाइँदैन, वंशावली वा अभिलेख आदिमा यसको उल्लेख परेको छैन भनी हिल्लीरमण रेग्मीज्यूले लेख्नु भएको^{१७}। तर दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञानको नेपाल आगमनलाई प्रमाणित गर्ने स्रोत थंखिल मगवान् बहालमा सुरक्षित रहेको छ। त्यो हो; त्यहाँ रहेको प्रसिद्ध शतसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता। सुवर्ण रत्ननाक्षरमा लेखिएको सो प्रज्ञापारमिता खुद श्रीज्ञान, अतीशले नै लेख्न लाएका हुन्। त्यसको स्पष्ट चर्चा त्यस प्रज्ञापारमिताको पुष्पिकावाक्यमा परेको छ। विचारार्थ त्यसको एक अंश यहाँ उद्धृत गरिन्छ।

पंडितजिन श्रीज्ञानेन स्वयमेवोपार्जितद्रव्येण महत्कष्टेन वैदूर्यवन्नीलपत्रे जाम्बूनदसुवर्णेन सर्वज्ञजनी आर्यभगवतीशतसाहस्ररूपा प्रज्ञापारमिता लिखापिता। विचारूपविचक्षाणेन वसुना वस्त्रहारामरणेन च सुखावतीसदृशभूमण्डलमनिनागदेश, तर्कव्याकरणागमादिशास्त्रव्याख्यानेन महागम्भीरमेघार्जितवच्छ्रीधर्मधातुमहाविहारीयपरमगुणालंकृतज्ञानसंघस्थितये संप्रदीकितं। सम्बत्सरण संवत् ३४४ अग्रहायण शुक्लप्रतिपदिदने समाप्त^{१८}।

श्रीज्ञान अतीश लाई यहाँ दीपङ्कर नभनी जिन भनिएको छ। बुद्धलाई कहन त्यसवेला जिन शब्दको प्रयोग हुन्थ्यो। संस्कृतको प्रसिद्ध कोश अमरकोशमा बुद्धलाई जिन भनिएको छ^{१९}। यस कारण यी जिन श्रीज्ञान पक्कै पनि दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञान नै हुन् भन्ने कुरा-मा शंका छैन। अतीशको जीवनीमा उनी थंविहारमा आई बसेको स्पष्ट चर्चा छ। उनले यस विहारको पुनर्निर्माण गराएका हुन्। अतीशले यहाँ एक वर्ष बसी बौद्ध धर्मको अध्ययन अध्या-पन गराएका थिए। यसको चर्चा धर्मस्वामीले पनि गरेका छन्^{२०}। यसो हुनाले थंखिलमा सुरक्षित शतसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमितामा उल्लिखित जिन श्रीज्ञान, दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञान अतीश नै हुन् भन्ने स्पष्ट छ।

अतीशको नेपाल आगमनको समयबारे अलि मतभेद रहेको छ तापनि धेरैजसो विद्वान्हरूले उनको नेपाल आगमन वि.सं.१०६८ मानेका छन्^{२१} । त्यसको अर्को वर्ष वि.सं.१०६९ मा उनी डोरी (पश्चिमी तिब्बत) पुगेका थिए। तिब्बती प्रीतमा यसको उल्लेख परेको छ^{२२}। थंवल्लिमा रहेको प्रज्ञापारमितामा उक्त ग्रन्थ सारिएको भिति सम्बत्सखा संवत् ३४४ अग्रहायण दिइएको छ । यो संवत् कुन हो, विचारणीय छ । नेपाल संवत् यो पक्कै होइन। नेपाल संवत् भएको भए यो वि.सं. १२८० हुन जान्छ । दीण्डर श्रीज्ञानको समयसँग यसको मेल खाँदैन। तिब्बतका प्रसिद्ध भिक्षु धर्मस्वामी वि.सं. १२८३ मा नेपाल आएका थिए। उनी यहाँ आठ वर्ष जति बसे। उनी स्वयंभू र थंविहारमा बसेका थिए । उनले दीपंकर श्रीज्ञानको चर्चा गरेका छन्। थंविहारमा अतीशद्वारा बनाइएको शाक्यमुनिको मूर्तिको पनि उनले बयान गरेका छन्^{२३}। ३ वर्ष अगाडि मात्र अतीश त्यहाँ बसेको भए धर्मस्वामीले अवश्य पनि जोड दिई त्यसको उल्लेख गर्ने थिए । यसबाट पनि थंवल्लिमा रहेको प्रज्ञापारमितामा उल्लिखित संवत् नेपाल संवत् होइन भन्ने स्पष्ट थाहा हुन्छ । यो कुन संवत् हो भन्ने कुरा निर्णयको लागि यसमा संबद्ध विद्वान्हरूको दृष्टि पर्नुपरेको छ ।

माथि उल्लिखित प्रज्ञापारमितामा थंवल्लिलाई धर्मघातु महाविहार भनिएको छ । धर्मस्वामीले पनि यस विहारलाई धर्मघातु विहार भन्दछन् भनी उल्लेख गरेका छन्^{२४}। त्यस-वेलासम्म यस विहारलाई विक्रमशील महाविहार भनी स्पष्ट रूपमा भनिएको पाइँदैन । तर यसको केही कालपछि भए यस विहारलाई विक्रमशील महाविहार भनी लेखिएको पाइन्छ^{२५}।

अतीश दीण्डरले लेखाएको प्रज्ञापारमिता हुनाले यस ग्रन्थको निकै महत्त्व रहेको छ । यस ग्रन्थको दर्शनको लागि भोटबाट समेत अफ दार्शनार्थीहरू आउने गर्दछन् । चैत्र कृष्ण प्रतिपदाको दिन गरिने चर्चको जात्रामा चर्चको भव्य मूर्तिका साथ यस ग्रन्थलाई पनि नगर परिक्रमा गराइन्छ । श्रावणमा गुलाधर्मको सिलसिलामा वज्राचार्यहरूद्वारा यसको पाठ गराइन्छ। गाईजात्राको भोलिपल्ट हनुमान्ढोकाको मुख्य कुमारीलाई यो प्रज्ञापारमिता देखाइन्छ र केही भाग पढी सुनाइन्छ। विजयादशमीको दिन साँझ भिक्षुले खड्गयात्रा को अवसरमा अगाडि अगाडि यो ग्रन्थ पनि साथै लगिन्छ ।

यस्तो परम्परा हुँदा कान्तिपुरका प्रसिद्ध राजा प्रतापमल्लले र उनकी रानी लालमतीले यस प्रज्ञापारमिताको महिमा गाई केही थप मूलग्रन्थमै गराएका छन्। जुन यस प्रकारको छ ।

ॐ नमो भगवत्यै आयूर्यप्रज्ञापारमितायै ॥ अथेदं पुस्तकं सकलसुरगते
रस्मद्राष्ट्राधिपप्रेयसी सकलशास्त्रविशारदा श्रीलालमती राज्ञी
दर्शयामास ॥ पुनः सा राज्ञी विविधशास्त्रविशारदकवित्वाल-
काला (रा) लंकृत नेपालमूपातबूढामणिमहाराजाधिराज श्रीप्रताप-
मल्लस्वामिनं प्रत्याह ॥

१०६ सि.एन.ए.एस.जनल, मालम १२, न.२ (एप्रिल १९८५)

प्रज्ञापारमितामिमां सुललितामालोक्य मे सांप्रतं
पुनर्वक्तुं किञ्च निवेदने त्वयि विमो कण्ठोऽयमुत्कण्ठते ।
श्रीमच्छ्रीकविराजराजमुकुट श्रीमत्प्रताप प्रभो
स्तच्छास्त्रगतिं विलोक्य किमपि ण्यं त्वया क्रियतां ॥
प्रज्ञापारमिता पुण्या धन्यापि पुस्तिका मिमां ॥
प्रज्ञापारमिता नूनं बौद्धैर्बुद्धिविशारदैः ॥ ॥

इति लालमतीदेवी विरचितपद्यं ॥ इति प्रेयस्याः श्रीलालमत्याः
पद्यं श्रुत्वा महाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीप्रतापमल्लः प्रज्ञापारमितां
वर्णयामास ॥

निराधाराधारावचनमतिपाराखिलवरा
कदा जीवाधारा जननमरणादिव्यमगता ॥
तुरीया चिद्रूपा तडिदमलतैजःदाणामपि
लमन्ते यद्ध्यानात्किमपि यमिनोद्यापि जगति ॥
उपनिषदि पुराणो न्यायमीमांसयोश्च
क्रमपदनिगमादौ यज्ञसांख्यागमेषु ॥
न च खलु महिमानं वक्ति देवेशि शेषो-
नरमणिरहमेनं नैव वक्तुं समर्थः ॥

इति महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीप्रतापमल्लदेवतत्पत्नीमहाराज्ञीश्रीलालमतीदेवी
विरचितं श्लोकचतुष्टयं समाप्तं ॥ संवत् ७६६ श्रावण शुक्ल अस्ति कुन्हु
दुता लिखित पूर्ण ॥ २६

प्रतापमल्लले कुती, खासा, केरुङ भेकमा आफ्नो प्रभाव फैलाएका थिए । काजी
भीममल्लमार्फत भोटसंग सन्धि पनि गरेका थिए^{२७} । यसै सिलसिलामा थंहिलको प्रज्ञापार-
मिताको महिमा प्रतापमल्लले गाएको अनुमान हुन्छ ।

राजाहरू परस्परमा सन्धिपत्र, धर्मपत्र गर्दा इष्टदेवता साक्षी राख्दथे। कति धर्मपत्र त
देवमन्दिरमै पुगी देवता कौई शपथ साई गर्दथे^{२८} । त्यस प्रकारका सन्धिपत्र, धर्मपत्र देवस्थलमै
टाँसिराख्ने चलन पनि थियो । पशुपतिका मण्डारमा यस्ता सन्धिपत्रहरू पाइएका छन् ।
साथै तलेजुमन्दिर आदिमा पनि यस्ता सन्धिपत्र पाइएका छन् । यस विक्रमशील महाविहारमा
पनि यस्ता सन्धिपत्र पाइएका छन् । यस विहारको संग्रहमा साठ्ठी भन्दा बढी पुराना
ताडपत्रहरू रहेका छन् । तिनमध्ये केही सन्धिपत्र पनि परेका छन्^{२९} । यसबाट मध्यकालमा
यस विहारको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व ठूलो थियोः पशुपति, तलेजुसरह नै यस विहारले राजकीय
मान्यता पाएको थियो भन्ने कुराको संकेत पाइन्छ ।

यस विहारसंग सिंह सार्थवाहको अनुश्रुति घनिष्ट रूपमा जोडिएको छ । सिंह सार्थ-
वाह भोट पुगेका र अनेक कष्ट साथ नेपाल फर्केको कुरा त्यस अनुश्रुतिमा परेको छ । सिंह

सार्धवाहले यस विहारमा कृति राखेको कुरा पनि उक्त अनुश्रुतिमा परेको छ । एक देशवाट अर्को देशमा गई व्यापार गर्ने व्यापारी-समूहका नाइकेलाई सार्धवाह भनिन्छ^{३०} । सिंहसार्ध-वाहको यस अनुश्रुतिले यस भेकका शासक वर्गको तिब्बतसंग रहेको व्यापार सम्बन्धलाई अल्ट्याएको छ ।

ठमेलस्थित विक्रमशील महाविहारको कार्यभार^{३१} ठमेलकै प्रधानहरूउपर रहेको छ । विहार सुव्यवस्थित गर्ने र बिग्रे भत्के मरम्मत आदि गर्ने गराउन जग्गाहरू गुठी राखिएको छ । आज भोलि प्रधान परिवार निकै फैलिस्को हुंदा विभिन्न परिवार वा खलकमा विभाजन गरिएको पाइन्छ । जस्तो-

१. तखा हैं

२. दुने हैं

३. पिट हैं

४. तासिं चुक^{३२}

यसरी प्रधान परिवार आपसमा विभिन्न हुं वा खलकमा विभक्त हुनुको कारण छ । शुल्मा ११ परिवारमा सीमित यी परिवार निकै ठूलो भएको हुंदा हो । यसरी खलक कुटिए पछि एक खलकको जुठो, सुतक अर्को खलकले वार्नु नपर्ने भयो । यी सम्पूर्ण खलकमा यस वहालको प्रत्येक गुठीको संचालन भार पनि जादैन । यस्ता गुठी पाली आपसमा बाँडि-सकेको पाइन्छ । तापनि यहाँ वर्षाको एक पटक गरिने ठूलो दिशी पूजा (मुख्य पूजाको पाली फेरिने गुठी) भने सम्पूर्ण खलकको प्रत्येक परिवारलाई पालो-पाली जान्छ । एक पटक पालो पूरा गरिसके पछि क्रमश पुनः उही व्यक्तिले पालो थाप्न करीव ३० वर्षा जति पर्खन पर्ने हुन्छ । यसैबाट नै ठमेलका प्रधानहरूको विशाल परिवारको फल्को मिल्दछ । यही दिशी पूजा नै उक्त विहारको मुख्य गुठी हो, त्यसको पाली थाप्नेले एक वर्षसम्म विधि विधान चलाउनुपर्ने हुन्छ ।

यस विहारसंग सम्बद्ध सदस्य प्रधानहरू बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बी हुन् तापनि उनीहरूले भिक्षु-चर्या ग्रहण गर्नु पर्ने बाध्यता हैन । विहारको भित्री आगमपूजाको लागि गुरुज्यू वज्राचार्य-लाई नै नियुक्त गरिने प्रथा रहेको पाइन्छ । तर पनि मुख्य भगवान्को^{३३} दैनिक पूजाको लागि दुईजना पुजारी श्रेष्ठ परिवारवाट छानिएका हुन्छन् । यी पुजारीहरूलाई गुरुज्यू वज्राचार्यले मन्त्र सुनाई दीक्षा दिइन्छ । यसपछि टुपी काटी पुजारीको मान दिने गरिन्छ । दीक्षा दिंदा हनुमान्ढोकाका मुख्य कुमारी घरको वज्राचार्यको पनि उपस्थिति अनिवार्य छ । अन्यथा विधि पूरा भएको मानिंदैन । दुई पुजारी मध्ये एक-एकको, एक-एक महीनाको पालो रहन्छ । यसरी एक पुजारी विरामी भए अर्कोले क्रमशः पूजाको भार सम्हाल्ने गरिन्छ ।

पुजारीलाई सहयोगार्थ श्रेष्ठ परिवार बाटै दुई जना सुवाजुको नियुक्ति हुन्छ । जो पुजारी फै दीक्षात हुन्छन् । यिनीहरूबाट भगवान्को मोग भूजा आदि तैयार गर्ने काम गरिन्छ । यी सबैलाई खानगीको रूपमा भगवान्को गुठीवाट धान बाली दिइन्छ^{३४} ।

उक्त विहारको मुख्य देवता पुजारीले बाह्रै अहले कुन हुंदैन भन्ने लोक धारणा रहेको छ । केही गरी कोइयो भने शान्ति स्वस्ति गर्नु पर्ने नियम रहेको छ । यहाँसम्मकि त्यही-को आगम घरका गुरुजुले समेत भगवान् कुन वर्जित गरिएको छ ।

१०८ सि.एन.ए.एस.जर्नल, मॉलम १२, नं.२ (एप्रिल १०८५)

त्यस विहारको सदस्यमा प्रायः प्रत्येक प्रधानहरू पर्ने आउँछन् तापनि त्यहाँको कार्य संचालनको भार वहन गर्न केही सदस्यहरूको नियुक्ति भएको हुन्छ । जसमध्ये केही प्रधान परिवार कै सदस्यबाट लिईएको हुन्छ । जसमा थकाली, नंकि पर्ने आउँछन् भने केही बाहिरी व्यक्ति पनि रहेका हुन्छन् । उदाहरणको लागि निम्न इकाई लिन सक्छौं,

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| १. थकाली | ५. सुवाजु |
| २. नंकि | ६. वहिदार |
| ३. गुल्लु | ७. अन्य |
| ४. पुरेत (पुजारी) | |

यहाँ अन्य मन्नाले सर-सफाइको लागि प्रतिदिन आउने व्यक्तिहरूलाई लिन सकिन्छ । वहालको हरेक कार्यमा यिनीहरू पनि सहभागी हुन्छन् । कतिपय कार्यहरू यिनीहरू नभई पूरा नहुने हुँदा यिनीहरू पनि गुठीका अभिन्न अंगको रूपमा रहेको सहजै अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । यिनीहरूको लागि पनि गुठीबाट आयस्ता तोकिएको हुन्छ । भगवान्को ढुकुटी अथवा भण्डार जोसुकैले खोल्न पाउँदैनन् । यसको लागि यसै बहालसँग सम्बद्ध सदस्यहरूको सहभागिता अनिवार्य छ । यसमध्ये एकजना पनि कम मएसम्म भण्डार खोल्दैन ।

पूर्वाभिमुख यस मन्दिरको तीनतिर प्रवेशद्वारहरू छन् । एकतिरको उत्तरी ढोकाबाट बाहिर निस्कने नभई विहारको वारीतिर निस्कइन्छ । दुई तल्ले यो विहार अन्य विहारहरू फे साधारण देखिन्छ । मुख्य देवताको उभिएको ठूलो स्वर्ण मूर्ति छ । हालको यो मूर्ति १६६० साल पछि मात्र राखिएको हो । यो कुरा त्यहीँको ताम्रपत्रको अध्ययनबाट थाहाहुन्छ^{३४} । पूर्वतर्फ विहारको मुख्यद्वार छ । भित्रपट्टीको अर्को ढोकामा पाथिवेन्द्र मल्लको समयको काष्ठाभिलेख छ । यसबाट उक्त तौरण ने.स. ८०४ मा चढाएको स्पष्ट हुन्छ^{३५} ।

मुख्य द्वारबाट प्रवेश गर्ने बित्तिकै दायाँ बायाँका भित्ताहरूमा महाकाल^{३६} र हनुमान्का मूर्तिहरू छन् । साधारण ढुंगालाई नै हनुमान् मानिएको छ; कुनै आकार छैन । यी प्रायः प्रत्येक वहालहरूमा रहेको पाइन्छ । यी संगसँग अन्य साना-साना मूर्तिहरू र भक्तजनहरूका नमस्कार मुद्राका मूर्तिहरू पनि रहेका छन् । यहाँबाट दलान पार गरी तीन खुड्किला औंले-पछि विहारको मुख्य चौकमा पुगिन्छ । त्यहीँ खुड्किलाको वरिपरी मञ्जुश्री र सरस्वतीको मूर्ति रहेका छन्। त्यही रहेको अभिलेखमा^{३७} यी मूर्तिहरूलाई सरस्वती र मञ्जुश्री भनिएको छ ।

त्यहाँ यी सरस्वती मूर्तिहरू भगवान्को रत्नार्थ राखिएको हो भन्ने विश्वास गरिन्छ । स्पष्ट छ; यो ने.सं. ८०२ मा राखिएको हो । यससँग गणसहितको आर्यताराको सुन्दर मूर्ति स्थापित छ । त्यसमा रहेको अभिलेख अनुसार यो मूर्ति ने.सं. ८१० को भन्ने ज्ञात हुन्छ ।

मुख्य चौकमा चारवटा स्तूपहरू छन्, जसले चौकको सुन्दरतालाई अझ बढाएका छन् । त्यसमध्ये सट्टा स्तूपलाई ने.सं. ६२४ मा धनवन्तसिंहका दाजुमाइहरूले मिली सुनाला धातुले

होपेका हुन्। यस मुनिको ढुगे स्तूप भने अफै पुरानो हो। यो कुरा स्तूपको ढुंगा र बनावटबाट थाहा हुन्छ^{३८}।

मन्दिरको ढोकाअगाडि धातुको धर्मधातुमण्डल राखिएको छ। यद्यपि यो पछिल्लो समयको हो तापनि सौन्दर्यको प्रतीक रूपको रहेको छ। यसै गरी मन्दिरको द्वारलाई पनि सुनौला धातुको पत्रले होपेको छ। यसबारेको अभिलेख पनि रहेको छ। ढोकाको गुठी पनि छ। यो पनि पछिल्लो समयको हो। यसै ढोकालाई संरक्षाणको लागि गुठी राखिएको हो। यसको आमदानोबाट वर्षको एक-पटक पूजा गरी भोज खुवाउने गर्दछन्।

यसै चौकको दायातिरको घरको तल्लो तल्लामा भजन घर सँगै क्वापाघ लाई स्थानीय रक्षाक देवताको रूपमा स्थापित गरिएको छ। यो प्रायः प्रत्येक वहालको रक्षाक देवता मनी पुजिएको हुन्छ। यहाँ यो देवता कालो चिल्लो ढुंगामा निर्मित छ। निधारमा समेत ठाडो लाम्चो आंखा कुंदिएको यो मूर्तिले भगवान् शंकरको सम्फना दिलाउँछ। यस मूर्तिको घांटी मन्दा मुनि कपडाले ढाकिएको हुँदा हातको रसाई आदि थाहा पाउन सकिँदैन। मूल ढोका बाहिर देवैतीर जाटी अजिमा (मातको माड खाने देवी) को साकेतिक रूप प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। देवीको रूप कलशाकार छ। देवीलाई मातको माडको भोग भगवान् लाई भोग चढाउनु मन्दा पहिले विधिवत् चढाइन्छ।

वहालको भित्र रहेको चौक अथवा वर्गचामा दुइटल्ले मन्दिर छ। यस मन्दिरलाई कुमारी घर वा आगम हुँ भन्ने गरेको पाइन्छ। यस कुमारी घरमा दशैको नवमीको दिन उक्त भगवान् वहालको आफ्नै कुमारी ल्याई मन्दिर (कुमारी घर) मा रहेको आगममा विधिपूर्वक पूजा गर्ने प्रथा रहेको देखिन्छ। यस विक्रमशील महाविहारको आफ्नै कुमारी छ^{३९}। यस कुमारी घरका केही ढुङालहरूमा केही देव-देवीका मूर्तिहरू कुंदिएका छन्। तर कुनै कुनै ढुङालहरू पछि फेरिएको हुँदा सादा काठ मात्रका रहेका छन्। आगंचु मनिने यस चौकको पश्चिमतिर एउटा स्तूप छ। तर अभिलेख आदि नभएको हुँदा यसको निर्माण कहिले भएको हो भनी किटेर मन्न भन्ने सकिँदैन।

यस विहारमा जैन पुर्णको आसपास करीव ८ दिनसम्म वहिय बांय भनी वहालको मण्डारमा रहेका मूर्ति आदिहरूको प्रदर्शन गरिन्छ। यस समयमा विभिन्न मण्डलीहरू वाजा गाजाका साथ वहालहरूको परिक्रमा गर्ने उद्देश्यले हिँडेका हुन्छन्। यस्तै प्रक्रियाको अन्तमा गाईजात्राको मोलिपल्ट हनुमान् ढोकाको मुख्य कुमारी देवीको आगमन हुन्छ। कुमारी विहारमा प्रवेश गर्नुमन्दा पहिले विभिन्न विधिहरू पूरा गरिन्छन्। वहालको अन्तिम विधिको रूपमा कुमारीलाई त्यहाँ रहेको रञ्जना लिपिमा लेखिएको उपर्युक्त प्रज्ञापारमिताको अन्तिम भाग गुरुज्यूहरूले पढेर सुनाउने गर्दछन्। वास्तवमा कुमारीलाई सुनाउने यो भाग कान्तिपुरका प्रसिद्ध राजा प्रतापमल्ल र रानी लालमतीले प्रज्ञापारमिताको महिमाको वर्णन सहित रचेका कविताहरू हुन्।

फागुन पूर्णिमाको दिन चक्र^{४०} को जात्रा हुन्छ, जसलाई दीपंकर भगवान् पनि मनिन्छ। पूर्णको दिन बैलुका चक्रम्य फिकी टुन्चु (इनार भएको चौक) मा राखिन्छ।

प्रतिपदाको दिन घण्टा-घोषणा सम्पन्न हुन्छ । जसमा ज्यापूहरूले दिनभरमा नौ पटक घण्टा बाँकी ठमेल टोलबाट असन हुँदै हनुमान्ढोका सम्म पुगी फर्कनु पर्छ । यसरी घण्टा घोषणा गर्दा घण्टा बीचमा बिसाउन नहुने प्रथा छ । एक चक्कर लगाएपछि वहालकै चौकमा घण्टा विधिपूर्वक बिसाउनुपर्छ । यस घोषणााले भगवान्को यात्राको सन्देश पु-यास्को भनिन्छ । यस अवसरमा जगात मार्गने पनि चलन छ ।

उपर्युक्त वर्णनबाट ठमेल टोलस्थित विक्रमशील महाविहारको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्वको बोध हुन्छ । थम् विहार भनी कहलाएको यस विहारको प्रशंसा तिब्बतबाट अतीशलाई लिन भारत गस्का नागासो रोचवले पनि गरेका छन्^{४१} । यसबाट तिनताक नै यस विहारको महत्त्व रहेको थाहा हुन्छ । तिब्बत जान आस्का भारतका महापंडित अतीशको कृतिको कारणले यस विहारको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व अझै बढ्यो । पछि यस थम् विहारको नाम नै विक्रमशील महाविहार रहन गस्को अनुमान हुन्छ । जुन कुराको चर्चा माथि नै गरिसकिएको छ ।

यस विहारको बाहिरी चौक र भित्र रहेका प्राचीन चैत्य आदिले पनि यसको महत्त्व बढाएको छ । यसको हनुमान्ढोका राजदरवारसंग रहेको सम्बन्ध पनि कम महत्त्वपूर्ण हैन^{४२} । अझ यहाँको भण्डारमा रहेका साठौ मन्दा बढी ताडपत्रहरू विस्तारसंग अध्ययन गर्न पाए कान्तिपुरको अस्पष्ट बाट्ट ठकुराई युगको इतिहास समेत स्पष्ट हुने थियो होला । तर कारणावश त्यसो गर्न सकिस्न । यसबारे पछि खोजी गरिनेछ ।

परिशिष्ट

१. चैत्यको बीचमा रहेको प्रतापमल्लको समयको अभिलेख
१. शुभ श्री २ राजराजेन्द्र कवीन्द्र जय प्रतापमल्ल
२. देव प्रमु थाकुरस्य विजय राज्ये ॥ दानपति विक्र-
३. मशील महाविहारस्थित, स्वपिता गुण
४. सिं भारीन दयका ध्व चैत्य भराड जीर्ण जुयाव पु-
५. त्र धम्माल्मा श्री ३ देवावतारस्याङ्घ्रिसेवित महा-
६. पात्र दयारु, कृष्णसिं भारी प्रमुखन माय्या
७. ल्हुनिमयि प्रथमपुत्र मनोहर, द्वितीय
८. पुत्र हरिहर, तृतीयपुत्र देवे, चतुर्थ पु-
९. त्र दन्दपाणि, पंचमपुत्र चिकुति ध्वते मां-
१०. च्छि माचासेन सहजान ध्व चैत्र भराड
११. जिण्णउद्धार याडो जुरो ॥ संवत् ७८६ फा-
१२. ग्गुणि शुक्र द्वितीयातिथो ॥ उत्रमद्र न-
१३. दात्रे शुक्रजोगे, आदित्यवासरे, ध्व

१४. कुन्हु प्रतिस्था संपूर्ण याङ्गा जुरो ॥ स्त-
१५. त्पुण्यानुभावेन जीजमान कृष्णासिं
१६. मारो प्रमुख आयु आरोग्य
१७. ----- (यो गाडिस्को ह)

२. लोकेश्वरसंगे रहेको अभिलेख*

१. शुभ सम्वत् ८०२ चैत्रमासे शुक्रपक्षा
२. ॥ पंचम्यान्तिथी ॥ मृगशिर नक्षत्र ॥ श्वम-
३. नजीगे ॥ आदित्यवाल, ध्व कुन्हु श्रीश्रीश्री
४. गंधूलिवाहाल प्रितिन श्रीश्रीश्री पा-
५. धिवेन्द्रमल्ल देवस विजय राज्य थ-
६. वहिरो, यंतालिविया कुतुवज हे-
७. रिसिंह मारो न श्री ३ गंधूलि वाहा-
८. रया मूलचूकयाव सेङ्गाओ चेक-
९. न अतेन शीयाओ ल्होङ्गा जुरो
१०. ॥ श्री ३ मंजुश्री देव हं १ श्री ३ सर-
११. सुति देवि हं १ धुति थापना या
१२. ङाओ ध्व दिन कुन्हु प्रतिस्था
१३. याङ्गा जुरो । - - -

३. ढोकाको तोरणको

शुभ ॥ सम्वत् ८०४ आवण शुक्ल दशमि, ध्व कुन्हु श्री ३ गंधुरिजु
प्रीतिन श्री २ पार्थिवेन्द्र मल्ल देव प्रभु थाकुलस विजय राजे थवहिरी
यंतारिवि यौता के कुतुवज हरिसिंह मारो न धु तोरण दोहोरपा जुरो ॥

४. चोकको दायापट्टि रहेको आयताराको पादपीठको अभिलेख

१. शुभ सम्वत् ८१० माघ कृष्ण ॥ त्रियांद्दशि कुन्हु
२. क्रमिराके यता के वनिक विसौराम न सोपु-
३. त्री दिवंगत, मनहोती मयि यात नामन
४. थो फले प्रतिस्था याङ्गा न श्री आर्ज्यतारा थाप
५. ना याङ्गा दिन जुरो । ध्व फले देव सेनकरसा पंचम-

* राजवंशी, शंकरमान, २०२७ कान्तिपुर शिलालेख सूची, राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालय, पृ. १२५।

५. स्वर्ण मोडेको चैत्यको अभिलेख

१. ऊ नमः श्रीधर्मधातवे ॥ सिद्धाकाकैविराजे फणि तिथिमिलिते
माघवे मासि शुक्ले नेपालाब्दे दितां मे विधुदिन ललिते विक्रमादौ तु
शीले शास्तुः स्थाने हण्डभिः परिरचितममै स्तूपविम्ब जनैः प्राक्
रुक्मेनाच्छादयत् सुकुलभव इदानीं धनोवन्तसिंहः ॥ ० ॥
अथ देशभाषा ॥ श्री विक्रमशील महाविहारस ह्पालोहीया चैत्यस
स्व स्थानया कुतुंबज धनवन्तसिंह कनेस्त पिता चिकिधन भाज्या
सिधोलक्ष्मी धनवन्त सिंह भार्या शिवलक्ष्मी
२. पुत्र बहादुरसिंह जिवनसिंह, भीमनरसिंह पुत्री धनशकुं दुर्गालक्ष्मी
योगलक्ष्मी यशलक्ष्मी धुति परिवार समुच्चयन चेडा वेलस पूण्य
चित्तोत्पति जुयाओ स्वर्ण चैत्य दयका जुलो ॥ सम्वत् १२४
वैशाख शुक्ल पंचमि सोमवार कुन्हु प्रतिस्था सम्पूर्ण शुभम् ॥ ॥

६. मूलढोकाको दायान्तिर रहेको ताम्रपत्र

ऊं नमो रत्नत्रियाय । विक्रम सम्वत् १९९६ साल माघ शुक्ल त्रयोदशी
फाल्गुन ६ गते बुद्धवारका दिन नेपालाधिपति श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज त्रिभुवन
वीर विक्रम शाहदेवका राज्यमा शुवर्ण-प्रणालीका त्रिपुर विक्रमशील
महाविहार ठवहिलका देवावतार श्री सिंहसार्थवाह गल्ह देवताका
पुरानो सुनका मूर्ति र चक्रम देवताका मूर्ति समेत जिण्णोद्वार गर्ने
दयादार प्रधानहल्लको थकालि चेतनरसिंह, नौकु भक्तमानहल्ले खटाई
थकाली काम गर्ने वृषमानसिंह सवै दयादार र अनुमक्तिले खडा भएका
सल्लाहले जिण्णोद्वार गरी प्रतिष्ठा संपूर्ण भएकी ।

७. भाडाकुडा फुं डाइएको ठाउँमा रहेको काष्ठ अभिलेख

सम्वत् २०२२ साल वैशाख १२ गते रोज ६ का दिन थवहिल
श्री सिंहसार्थ वाहु भगवान्मा अर्पन गरी चढाउनेः जाहेनार,
रत्नमाया महर्जन नौ.का.ई.सुकु बहाल

पितले तसका	- २	पितले लौटा	- १
,, कचौरा	- १	,, डाहु	- १
,, पन्याँ	- १	,, कोपरा	- १
थकु	- १	,, थाल	- १
कांगियो	- १		
पितले टीका बट्टा	- १		
स्ना	- १		

पादटिप्पणीहरू

१. बाग्ची, एस, १९७०, मूलसर्वास्तिवादविनयस्तु, दरमङ्गा, मिथिला इन्स्टिच्यूट, पृ. १७८ ।
२. वज्राचार्य, धनवज्र, २०२५, पूर्णिमा अंक १८, लिच्छविकालिक वस्ती, संशोधन मण्डल, पृ. ६६-११० ।
३. रेग्मी, जगदीशचन्द्र, २०२६, लिच्छवि संस्कृति, रत्न पुस्तक मण्डार, पृ. ३०५-६ ।
४. वज्राचार्य, धनवज्र, २०२४, पूर्णिमा अंक १४, लिच्छविकालमा धार्मिक संघ, संशोधन मण्डल, पृ. १०७ ।
५. रेग्मी, जगदीशचन्द्र, २०३० नेपालको धार्मिक इतिहास, संस्कृति विभाग, ने.रा.प्र. प्र. पृ.१५० ।
६. रेग्मी, डि.आर. १९६५, पेडिङ्गमल नेपाल पहिलो भाग, कलकत्ता, फर्मा के.एल. मुखोपाध्याय, पृ. ५६१-६३ ।
७. महायान सम्प्रदायका प्रमुख नौवटा ग्रन्थहरू र अरू ग्रन्थहरू पनि नेपालबाटै लगी विद्वान्हरूले प्रकाशित गरेका हुन् ।
८. लक, जोन.के., १९८०, करुणामय, काठमाडौं सहयोगी प्रेस, ने.ए.अ. केन्द्र, पृ. १७-१६ ।
९. श्री धनवज्र वज्राचार्यज्यूले उक्त कुरातिर मेरो ध्यानाकर्षण गरिदिनुमस्को हो ।
१०. सांस्कृत्यायन, राहुल, १९६०, तिब्बतमे सखा वरस, नईदिल्ली, शारदा मंदिर १७ वारदखम्बा रोड, पृ. २२२-२२३ ।
११. ,, ,, पृ. २१४
१२. ,, - पृ. २०६ ।
१३. रौरिच, जर्ज.स्. १९७६, द ब्लु स्नल्स, १ र २ देल्ली, मोतीलाल बनारसीदास, दोश्रो संस्करण, पृ. २४५ ।
१४. सांस्कृत्यायन, १९६०, पृ. २१६ ।
१५. चट्टोपाध्याय, अलका, १९८१, अतीश याण्ड तिब्बत, पटना, मोतीलाल, बनारसीदास, पृ. ३११ ।
१६. दास, शरत चन्द्र, १९६५, इन्डियन पन्डितस् इन द ल्याण्ड अफ स्नो, कलकत्ता, के.एल.मुखोपाध्याय, पृ. ७५-७७ ।

- ११४ सि.एन.ए.एस.जर्नल, मोलम १२, नं.२ (एप्रिल १९८५)
१७. रेग्मी डि.आ., १९६५, पृ.१२६
१८. संस्कृत सन्देशमा यस संवत्लाई नेपाल संवत् नै भनिस्कोछ, तर मूलग्रन्थमा ने.सं.पौको हैन । सम्बत्सरणा सम्बत् छ । यो कुन संवत् हो खोज्नु नै छ । संस्कृत सन्देश, वर्ष १, अंक ५, पृ. ४५-६३ ।
१९. शर्मा, कुलचन्द्र (टीकाकार), २०२६, अमरकोण, राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, पृ. ५ ।
२०. रेग्मी, डि.आर., १९६५, पृ. ५६१-६३ ।
२१. रौरिच, १९७६, द ब्लुसन्स, पृ. २४७ ।
२२. ,, ,, ,, पृ. २४७ ।
२३. रेग्मी, डि.आर., १९६५, पृ.५६१ ।
२४. ,, ,, ,, पृ. ५६० ।
२५. विहारमा रहेका ताडपत्रहरूमा विक्रमशील महाविहार भन्ने उल्लेख परेको छ ।
२६. संस्कृत सन्देश, वर्ष १, अंक ५, पृ. ४५ ।
२७. वज्राचार्य, धनवज्र र श्रेष्ठ, टेकबहादुर, २०३१, दोलखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा, काठमाडौं ने.ए.अ.केन्द्र, पृ. ४१ ।
२८. रेग्मी.डि.आर., १९६६, मेडिडमल नेपाल चौथो भाग, लेखक स्वयं, पृ. १६७ ।
२९. ताडपत्रहरू सार्ने अनुकूल नभिलेको हुँदा यहाँ दिन सकिइन । पछि उक्त ताडपत्रहरूको पुस्तिकाकार संकलन निकाल्ने विचार गरिएको छ ।
३०. वज्राचार्य धनवज्र, २०३०, लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, ने.ए.अ. केन्द्र, पृ. ५२ ।
३१. यहाँ कार्यभार भन्नाले हाललाई राजनैतिक नभई सांस्कृतिक वा धार्मिक भन्ने बुझ्नु पर्छ ।

हुनत राजा यक्षमल्लको मृत्युपछि उनका छोरा रत्नमल्लले कान्तिपुरलाई एकलौटे राज्य तुल्याउने तरसरमा कान्तिपुरका आठ ठकुरी राजाहरूमाथि वणिन परेको छ । त्यसमा ठमेल राजकुलको पनि नामोल्लेख भएको हुँदा त्यहाँ पनि राज-दरवार रहेको थाहा हुन्छ-

*सं. ५५५ णपनं.श्रीरत्नमल्ल राजानं यन्देश त्यल ओ ओ हनं ऽ थकुर जुजु स्याङ्गाओ क्वावाहर १ ओणावाहाल २ थथुरायकु थवहिल राजकुल ३ तां दे ४ थहिली ५ मुरवाहा ६ इकुवहाल ७ तओया क्वावाहार ऽ थोते राजा वुतकाव हितिवुकस रायकुर हङ्गाव च्च ॥ *

संस्कृत सन्देश, वर्ष १, अंक १०-१२, पृ: ८१-८३ ।

३२. केही दौत्रहरूको आधारमा विभाजन गरिएको हो ।
 ३३. धर्मस्वामी अनुसार शाक्यमुनिको मुर्तिको मूर्ति ।
 ३४. यी जानकारीहरू त्यहीका एक सदस्यको मनाईवाट टिपीएका हुन् ।
 ३४. परिशिष्ट - ६ ।
 ३५. परिशिष्ट - ३ ।
 ३६. रेग्मी: डि.आर. १९६६, मेडिडमल नेपाल दोश्रो भाग, कलकत्ता, फर्मा, कं.एल. मुखोपाध्याय, पृ: ७६२ ।
- बैसाखले सातौं शताब्दीको आफ्नो भारतयात्रा विवरणमा तात्कालिक भारतका विहारहरूमा महाकाल र गणेशका मूर्तिहरू अनिवार्य रूपमा रहेको वर्णन गरेका छन् । त्यसै अनुरूप नेपालका विहारहरूमा पनि पाइन्छ, तर यस विहारमा गणेशको मूर्ति विहार भन्दा बाहिर तर विहारकै अंगको रूपमा रहेको छ ।
३७. परिशिष्ट - २ ।
 ३८. परिशिष्ट - ५ ।
 ३९. त्यस वहालकी कुमारी क्वावहाल ठहरी निवासी हुन् ।
 ४०. यी चक्रंयः को सम्बन्ध यस वहालको प्रचलित कथाका मुख्य पात्र सार्थवाहसँग रहेको अनुमान हुन्छ। एलेन, माइकल, १९७५, द कल्ट अफ कुमारी, नेपाल, इनास, पृ.३९।
 ४१. ज्ञवाली, सूर्य विक्रम, २०१६, नेपाल उपत्यकाको मध्यकालीन इतिहास, काठमाडौं, रा.ने.ए. पृ. २६८ ।
 ४२. दशैंको टीकाको दिन हुने खड्गयात्राको लागि यस विहारबाट पूजा नलीसम्म खड्ग-यात्रा शुरू गरिंदैन ।

Nepal: A Small Nation in the Vortex of International Conflicts.
1984. Prem R. Uprety. 344 pages. Pugo Mi. Kathmandu. Price Rs. 200.

The historical evolution of the Nepalese diplomatic relations with her neighbours in general and the British-India in particular is a popular field for research and writing among the Nepalese and foreign scholars. These scholars have extensively used the Nepalese, the Indian and the British archival records in research. Several quality books, monographs and articles on the evolution of Nepalese diplomacy of the last two centuries have been published. Considerable number of similar publications dealing with the recent aspects of Nepalese diplomacy have appeared in the past two decades. Most of them are narrowly focused on two themes -- Nepal's bilateral relations with her neighbours and with international agencies. Rose (1971) and Husain (1970), as exceptions, have so far attempted to study the evolution of Nepalese diplomacy from broader regional and global perspectives. But their successes have been limited.

Prem R. Uprety's Nepal: A Small Nation in the Vortex of International Conflicts is an attempt to see the evolution of Nepal's regional and global diplomatic relations during the first half of the 20th century. On the basis of this study, Uprety endeavors to establish a thesis that small nations have made significant contributions in influencing the outcomes of major regional and global events. Scholars of international relations, he contends, have constantly ignored the contributions of small nations and dispensed with their efforts in favour of the larger ones only. Predilectory treatments of such nature, he thinks, are unjust, and they not only deprive the small nations of proper recognition in international relations but also present a narrow picture of the functionings of the nations in crucial times. As justification of his thesis, he presents Nepal as an example of those small nations which have made lasting impact on the world despite their limited resources and abilities. He then goes on to assess the role Nepal played in the Tibetan Crisis of 1900-1912, the two World Wars and the major political events in India during and immediately after the British rule.

For the purpose of assessing Nepal's role and her contributions in the region and the globe, Uprety has tried to investigate the causes which induced her to participate in the issues mentioned above. These questions can be roughly categorised as follows: What psychological factors motivated the then Rana rulers to take their country "through the dark tunnels of international conflicts"? How did the World Wars and the problems in India influence the Nepalese polity, economy and mind? How did these events pave the way for the freedom movement against the Ranas in Nepal? These questions are answered under three major thematic divisions of the book. They are Nepal and her role in the Tibetan Crisis, 1900-1912, Nepal and the two World Wars and Nepal's

contributions in suppressing the internal disorders in India during and after the British rule.

Upreti's attempt to project Nepal as a small but important member of the international community which exercised direct and indirect influence to shape the outcomes of the discussed events fails short of proving his point of view. Presented discussions and analyses, on the contrary, demonstrate that in all major events -- except the Tibetan Crisis in which Nepal's interests were directly threatened -- Nepalese roles were secondary. Furthermore, Nepal unequivocally endorsed the British stand on the regional and the global issues. For instance, Nepalese support to the Younghusband Mission to Tibet or Chandra Shumsher's instructions to Dalai Lama to maintain cordial relations with the British or Nepal's participation in the World Wars, in Afghan and Hyderabad episode, were indicative of the country's subordination to the British in major foreign policy matters. In all these issues Nepalese rulers appear to be insensitive to the limitations of their country and were simply bent on pleasing the British authorities.

The psychological factors motivating the Ranas to involve Nepal into the major and minor crises in and outside the South Asian region, Upreti correctly states, were primarily dictated by their quest for legitimacy in power. And legitimacy would be certain if the Ranas collaborated with the British and kept them happy. In addition, he says the close relations between the Ranas and the British, the Gorkha recruitments, the Ranas' expectations of monetary, territorial and personal rewards for the country and themselves motivated them to assist the British in the World Wars and the problems in India and Tibet. One of his arguments that Nepal participated in the two World Wars due to her abiding "Faith in principles of peace and justice and partly from the sacred canons of the Hindu Dharmashastras" is a little too farfetched.

As the obsession of the scholars in international relations in favour of larger nations perpetuates and will be so in the days to come, this book is the first comprehensive study of Nepal's relations with the British-India, Tibet and China during the first half of the 20th century. This book per se does not enhance Upreti's reputation any further; nevertheless, it exemplifies his scholarship and patience to go through archives collecting documents. He has written in detail with substantial documentary evidence on Nepalese soldier's activities in the World Wars, Nepal's problems of recruitment and training of soldiers and financing the war efforts and the impact of the international events on the Nepalese economy, politics and society. These details provide several new pieces of information on Nepalese history which were unknown till the publication of this book.

Inconsistent statements, lack of analysis and confusion over the chronology and printing errors constantly annoy the reader. The first part of the book, though sound in research and quality, is, for instance, evidently a reproduction of Upreti's previous publica-

tion, Nepal-Tibet Relations, 1850-1930, with minor changes of words and sentences here and there. It is also more surprising to find him repeating the same chronological and contextual errors of his previous book. To be specific, the case of the 1912 Tibeto-Chinese problem can be presented. According to both publications, on April 12, 1912, the Tibetan and the Chinese sought the British and the Nepalese mediation to end their protracted crisis. But the next line goes on to say on April 2, 1912, negotiations between the belligerents were completed and a truce followed. Another sentence compounds the confusion further by stating that on April 1, 1912, the Chinese handed over 144 rifles to the Tibetans according to a truce concluded between them. Inconsistencies of this sort lead the reader to conclude three things. The author either neglected to scrutinise the documents under study thoroughly, or the documents are inconsistent or the book was hurried through the press to meet some deadline.

Furthermore, Uprety suffers from a historian's common disease, that is to stretch a preferred topic to its breaking point and leave others out with no interpretation. This problem is best represented by his attempt to establish the revolutionary nature of an obscure body called the Raktapat Kommittee by connecting it with the Soviet principles and political secularization:

In short, this book is a mine of information left unanalysed. In spite of so many shortcomings, Uprety must be congratulated on his painstaking efforts. This book is a must for any one interested in Nepalese history and Nepal's foreign policy of the first half of the 20th century.

- Shyam K. Bhurtel

Review Article:

Mediaeval History of Nepal C. 750-1482. Second, Thoroughly revised Edition: Luciano Petech, 254 pages, including Appendixes, Genealogical Tables, Bibliography and Index. Italian Institute for Middle and Far East. Serie Orientale Roma No LIV. Rome. Price: Lira 40.000 = Rs 370.

Luciano Petech's Mediaeval History of Nepal c. 750-1480 (Rome: 1958) was, by any standard, a landmark for its time. Prior to its publication very little original work had been done on the history of medieval Nepal. Nearly a century ago, Bhagwanlal Indraji published "Some Considerations on the History of Nepal" (1884), in which he scanned the chronological data supplied by modern chronicles in the light of the twenty-three inscriptions he published four years earlier. Cecil Bendall added a few more inscriptions, and with the help of manuscript colophons, inscriptions and coins he published a seminal paper in 1903. The chief attraction of Bendall's paper, "A History of Nepal and Surrounding Kingdoms 1000-1600," was the fact that Bendall made a feeble attempt to use a medieval chronicle which he had recently discovered in the Durbar Library, Kathmandu. Piecing together every bit of information he could collect from Nepalese sources, Indian classics, Tibetan and Chinese documents, and European materials, Sylvain Lévi made heroic efforts to reconstruct Nepal's ancient and medieval history in the three classic volumes of Le Népal (1905-1908). Despite its age the work still remains a basic reference tool. Lévi gave a sober but perceptive outline of medieval history of Nepal by critically evaluating all the sources of information he was able to collect at the beginning of this century. For nearly half of this century Nepalese scholars, competent to work on primary source-materials along modern lines of historical research, were almost non-existent. Most of the vernacular textbooks on Nepalese history were summaries of the vanśavalī-s such as the one edited by Daniel Wright (1877). The more knowledgeable authors such as D.R. Regmi summarised Bendall, Lévi, Wright, Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, and Jayaswal within verbose and inconclusive frameworks (cf. Regmi, Ancient and Medieval Nepal, 1952).

Like his predecessors Bendall and Lévi, Petech (1958) directly tapped primary source-materials. The most important of these were manuscript colophons and the medieval chronicles, particularly the all-important Gopālarājavanśavalī and its cognate-- the fragment of

a chronicle which Petech discovered in the Kaisher Library, Kathmandu. The potentiality of manuscript colophons for documenting the historicity of medieval kings was identified by Bendall for the first time. A judicious and critical use of all the colophons available to him was made by Lévi. But the total number of the colophons they could collect was limited to a few dozens. Above all, they failed to penetrate the obscure textual surface which surrounded the hard core of historical data contained in the newly-discovered medieval chronicle. Petech (1958) was way ahead of Bendall and Lévi. Everything else apart, Petech was able to collect nearly 80 dated colophons and 2 inscriptions for the Thakurīs (A.D. 879-1200) and 169 dated documents, including 23 inscriptions, for the Early Mallas (A.D. 1200-1480). A great many of these primary sources were published for the first time.

In 1958 Petech's main achievements were two: he reconstructed a reliable chronology and sketched a clear and perceptive outline of the political history of the Thakurīs and the Early Mallas. The outline was enriched by unassuming but useful general sections on medieval social structure, administration, coinage, and a section on the cities of the Valley. Although Petech defined the aim of his book in modest words as

my main purpose was to place on a more secure
footing the the chronological and political
framework of Nepalese mediaeval history
(Petech 1958:3)

the book laid the foundation for Nepal's medieval history on a truly scientific line.

Twenty-six years later, Petech has recently published a "second, thoroughly revised edition" of his book. Between Petech (1958) and Petech (1984) the historiography of Nepal in general and of medieval Nepal in particular has had a most fruitful and eventful time. Among other things, Nepalese scholars have now come of age—both active and productive, albeit ambitious at times. Whereas Petech (1958) refers to only 25 inscriptions of the period (A.D. 879-1480), nearly 100 inscriptions of the period have now been discovered and published—most of them by Nepali scholars. Numerous documents of the Early Malla period have been published, studied, and analysed, including the Gopālarāja-vamśāvalī and the cognate chronicles. Here mention must be made of D.R. Regmi's Medieval Nepal 4 Vols (Calcutta and Patna, 1965-1966)—the most prolific and ambitious piece of writing by a Nepali scholar. In this work there is a bewildering corpus of extremely useful fresh materials published for the first time. Unfortunately, however, they are poorly edited and uncritically presented. Petech (1984:3) faults Regmi (1965-1966) as "a rather prolix and repetitive piece of historiography". The looseness of structure, the contentious tone, and the verbosity of style are not the disease: they are merely the symptoms of a basic intellectual lacuna in the historian. Beginning from his earliest published papers (1942) to his latest Inscriptions of Ancient

Nepal 3 Vols (Delhi: 1983) Regmi's fundamental handicap, as a practising historian, has been the absence of a conceptual framework, without which one can't cope with the data or make any coherent sense out of the mass of accumulated materials. Unlike Regmi, Petech's strength lies in his avoidance of ambitious scales. In the revised version too he sticks admirably to his original modest purpose, i.e., "to place on a secure footing the chronological and political framework of Nepalese mediaeval history" (Petech 1984:3). He even stakes a disclaimer this time:

As I had already cautioned the reader in 1958, it is rather a old-fashioned history-writing which is offered in the following pages: dynasties, kings, wars, chronological problems etc.

(Petech 1984:3)

Without denying that time has already come to divert our attention to researches on social, cultural, and economic aspects of medieval Nepal, even after a quarter of century's researches Petech has shown unwavering faith in the tradition of "old-fashioned history-writing", unequivocally preoccupied with names, dates, dynasties—with what Sylvain Lévi would have called "the phantoms of the Dark Ages".

In the history of Nepal, the Dark Period is not just a colourful metaphor: a great hiatus between the Licchavis (A.D. 464-733) and the Early Mallas (A.D. 1200-1482) is one of the most inexplicable features of Nepalese history. After Jayadeva II's inscription of Samvat 157/A.D. 733, we have only five dated documents with the name of the reigning king to fill in the gap of 146 years:

1. 180 Māgha Kṛṣṇa 2/December 27, 756 Mānadeva
2. --- Āṣāḍha Kṛṣṇa 7/ Mānadeva
3. 250 prathama Āṣāḍha 2/May 31, 827 Balīrāja
4. 271 Vaiśākha Śukla 5/April 8, 848 Baladeva
5. 301 Vaiśākha Śukla 7/April 13, 878 Mānadeva

Like most students of Nepalese history, Petech is disturbed at this gap, particularly because his ultimate ambition is to "place on a secure footing the chronological framework". Such big gaps in political chronology are matters of poor comfort for him. Consequently, Petech had to look for "explanations". Chapter III: The Late Licchavi Period is, thus, an essay in explanation made up of controversial arguments to fill in this uncomfortable gap in the political chronology. Petech resorts to the Chinese sources (A.D. 643-651) which merely show that Nepal had remained a protégé of Tibet since Narendradeva (A.D. 643) and that "the Tibetan ascendancy in Nepal" had "waned after A.D. 651". Unlike the dispersed and contentious discussions in Regmi's Ancient Nepal (Calcutta: 1969-192; 214-222; 289; and 347-352), Petech sums up the whole question of "Tibetan ascendancy in Nepal" in a few clear, concise, and well-documented paragraphs (pp. 24-27) and the sources of confusion are clearly traced—except for a very basic one.

In 643 or 644 the Tibetans helped the pretender Narendradeva, then a refugee in Tibet, to overthrow the usurper Viṣṇugupta, restoring the Licchavi dynasty to the throne. After this the king remained a protegee (sic) of Tibet ..
In a fragment possibly going back to Wang Hsüan-t'š'e Nepal is described as a state subordinate (shu) to Tibet.

(Petech 1984:24)

Here Petech's reference is to a confusing paragraph in Shih-chai fang-chih compiled by Tao-siüen in 650. The relevant paragraph reads

Recently the orders of the Empire (China--KPM) passed by the Kingdom (of Nepal--KPM) and thence extended far. Now it depends (shu) on T'ou -fan (Tibet)

(Chapter I, p. 97, col.13)

However, the last crucial sentence of this paragraph is replaced by a different one in Fa-youen-tehou-lin--the famous encyclopedia of Buddhism compiled by Tao-che in 668. In the encyclopedia, eighteen years later, the same paragraph reads:

Recently the orders of the Empire passed by the Kingdom and thence extended far. On the east, the kingdom of Women is adjacent to T'ou-fan

(Chapter 29, p. 96, col.14)

The paragraph reappears, as in 650, in both the recensions of the T'ang Annals--the Old T'ang Annals compiled by Liu Hsu in 945 and the New T'ang Annals compiled by Ou-Yang Hsin in 1072. Lévi assumes that the common source of these extracts "might have been" the lost travel accounts of Wang Hsüan-t'š'e-- partially preserved in fragments in the above sources. (See Lévi, "Les Missions de Wang Hiuen-Ts'e dans l'Inde," Journal Asiatique, 1900 May-June pp. 442-443 and ff). Lévi does not satisfactorily explain the transparent divergence in the two versions. In Le Népal (1905) Vol I p. 159 Lévi, who favoured the Tibetan-ascendancy-in-Nepal theory, translates only one (650) version, leaving out the other. This may be the source of entire confusion among the scholars favourably disposed to the Tibetan ascendancy theory.

However, this doesn't help to fill in the gap in the Nepalese chronology which spans between A.D. 733-879. Petech's explanation is not any more strengthened by his debatable attempt to interpret "a puzzling passage" in the Gopālarājavarṇaśāvalī (folio 23a):

tatpāścād bhoṭarājenamāyatih Nepālamaṇḍale rajyaṃ karoti

which he translates as:

After him the King of Bhoṭa came and established
his rule in the Nepal Valley

(Petech 1984:27)

Petech confesses that

Two interpretations are possible: either Bhoṭa is Tibet, or it is the same as Bhonta, the medieval name of the Banepa region to the east of the valley... ...The balance is almost even and I am not prepared to decide the question either way although it must be conceded that the graphical difference between Bhoṭa and Bhonta scores a little point in favour of Tibet.

(Petech 1984:27-28)

This little graphic point in favour of Tibetan ascendancy in the 8th-9th century Nepal is somewhat weakened by the fact that the orthography of the chronicle Petech cites is much less than standardised. Several of the place- and personal names used in the chronicle are transcribed in more than one "standard form"-- real or assumed. (See the Index of Personal Names and the Index of Place-names in The Gopālarāja-vamśāvalī, edited by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Kamal P. Malla, Wiesbaden, 1985, pp. 191-203)

In Chapter IV: The Transitional Period, Petech deals with the political history of the Nepal Valley during the 321 year period, between the founding on Nepāla Saṃvat (on Thursday October 20, 879) to A.D. 1200. He adopts what he thinks is "the non-committal heading Transitional Period" for these 321 years. The term was first used by Mary Slusser and popularised by her in Nepal Mandala (Princeton: 1982). On any account this is an inapt term because in the history of a country with a total recorded history of less than 1500 years, to call a time-span of 321 years "the transitional period" is a little too lavish, particularly for the historian aspiring to erect an infallible chronology. There is, of course, ample cultural justification for taking the year A.D. 879 as a new signpost in that a new epoch era, a new frame of time-computation, comes into use on and since this year. We don't yet know the precise occasion of the founding of Nepāla Saṃvat though. Petech uses an equally astonishing term, 'Newari Saṃvat.' No known or extant document of the period cited by Petech calls this epoch era "Newari". On the contrary, it is consistently called Nepāla or Nepālīya or Naipālika Saṃvat. As Petech well knows, Newārī is not even a corrupt colloquial Prakrit form of Nepāla. Nor is it used in any document dated earlier than the 18th-century Capuchin dispatches to Rome:

Although the 321 years is a protracted continuation of the Dark Period following Jayadeva II, there is no such dearth of "source materials" of a sort for the first three centuries of the new epoch era as for the 146 years following A.D. 733. The earliest colophon of the period is dated NS 40/AD 920 and the earliest inscription is dated

NS 107/AD 987. Even in 1958 Petech succeeded in collecting 90 documents including 2 inscriptions for this so-called "transitional period". To this he has now added 15 more inscriptions and 26 new colophons. However, of these 41 new pieces of documentation for the period, only 3 are unpublished previously--2 documents (Nos 1 and 6) of Baladeva (A.D. 1048-1060) and 1 (No 5) of Rudradeva (A.D. 1167-1175). All these three colophons are from S. Matsunami's Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library: Tokyo, 1965.

The more disturbing aspect of this quantitative expansion of Petech's documentation for the transitional period is that not a single of these 41 new documents upsets or enriches the chronology already established before the book was published. On the other hand, as the book appears to have already gone to press by December 1983, it was perhaps already too late for Petech to take note of Mohan Prasad Khanal's Cāṅgu Nārāyaṇakā Aitiḥāsika Sāmagrī (Kirtipur: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, October 1983). Among others, it contains 7 inscriptions of the period: No 8 Śaṅkaradeva, NS 173; No 9, Śaṅkaradeva NS 172; No 10, Lakṣmī-kāmadeva, NS 158; No 12, Haṛṣadeva, NS 207; No 15, Siṃhadeva, NS 241; No 16, Mānadeva, NS 260; and No 17, Amṛtadeva, NS 296. Among these, Inscriptions No 12 and No 16 completely upset Petech's chronology, the first by extending the earliest known date of Haṛṣadeva (Jyestha Kṛṣṇa 7, 207) and the second by extending the latest known date of Mānadeva (Bhādra Kṛṣṇa 7, 259). Śaṅkaradeva (NS 172-173) of Inscription Nos 8 and 9 is completely new to the established chronology. The disproportionate significance of such miserable little pieces of information clearly unmasks, not only the poverty of source materials for conventional political history, but also the poverty of old-fashioned historiography as an intellectual enterprise, focussed on dates, dynasties, kings, kingdoms, and wars, on the "little kings killing and pillaging each other"--as Lévi has so graphically put it.

The belaboured structure called the chronology of the transitional period is thus, on the whole, a dreary reading consisting of some 130 extracts from manuscript colophons and inscriptions, containing little but the names of reigning kings, their dates and at times the place where the manuscript was copied. Unlike inscriptions which are often state or royal documents, manuscript colophons are not state documents as such. That the political historian, in default of other "source materials", is obliged to resort to this spurious, but non-political, outgrowth of cultural enthusiasm is in itself a telling story. That the marginal notes of the not-too-learned scribes are the stuff out of which our "political history" is made is a painful realisation for enthusiastic new-comers to the field such as the reviewer. Even more painful is the realisation that the source materials are already near the point of exhaustion, already reaching a point of no returns, a little too soon perhaps. This source-materials "crunch" is all but evident in Petech's second, "thoroughly revised edition", published after a gap of a quarter of a century, quantitatively adding 41 new documents without contributing anything to the already established chronology. Thus the old-fashioned historiography may have reached its point of consummation in Petech 1984, or so it seems.

Just to give one brilliant example of the style, summing up the rule of Narendradeva on the basis of 8 extant colophons he had diligently collected, Petech writes:

Narendradeva governed Bhatgaon since last 1133; in the period 260-267 (A.D. 1140-1147) he ruled the whole country as king. Nothing else is known about him.

(Petech 1984:60-61)

If Petech cares for it, he can add still one more "document" to his list. There is an inscription dated NS 265 of the time of Narendradeva on a vajracārya crown deposited now in a Museum in Paris (See M. Gilles Beguin, "A propos d'une tiare d'officant Bouddhique," La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France, Vol 3, 1984). However, the point is: will this additional colophon tell us anything else of use to the political historian? The whole period of 321 years before the rise of the Mallas is merely a dismal list of "historical names and dates". The only difference between the conventional vamsāvalīs and the old-fashioned political history of the Thakurīs is that the latter is "positive", i.e., confirmed by other historical documents of a sort. The poverty of the narrative is, of course, not due to the intellectual lapses or personal weaknesses of the historian. Indeed, the Dark Period is not just a handy phrase. It nearly adequately describes the first half of the period covered by Petech's book. Twilight, if not total darkness, is the stuff of which political history of Nepal is made during the period. We grope in vain for illumination amidst a debris of miserable colophons and fragmented inscriptions. Yet alas! we do not yet know even the basic elements of political history of the period. We do not yet know for sure who these "little kings" were; where they ruled from; what the origins of their "dynasties" were; where their "royal seats" were. Nor do we know for sure whether these "little kings" following Rāghavadeva (ca. A.D. 879-919) were merely the survival of the ancient Licchavis who receded mysteriously into oblivion since ca. A.D. 750.

Fortunately, as we get closer to our times, Petech's narrative gets richer in content. Chapter IV of Petech 1958 dealing with the Mallas, is now split into three separate chapters: Chapter V: The Early Mallas; Chapter VI The Tripura and Bhonta Families, and Chapter VII: Jayasthiti-Malla and the Karṇāṭa-Mallas.

Justifying his new scheme Petech writes:

The name Malla has been hitherto conventionally used for the kings who ruled the valley from 1200 to 1768/69... ...the name is incorrectly employed to cover at least three different dynasties... Accordingly, I shall deal with these dynasties in three separate chapters.

(Petech 1984:79)

At what point in a family-tree does a new dynasty begin and collateral scions end is a question worth debating. Instead of "three different dynasties" we may be merely dealing with "three different rival or collateral families" belonging to the same dynasty. In Petech's Geneological Table B (p 230), instead of four separate "dynasties" we may be looking at the same family-tree with rival scions, except that we are still in dark about "the missing links". That power knows no kinship is only too clear from the family-history of Jang Bahadur Kunwar and his descendants. Yet there is little room for doubt that Petech's latest scheme on the Mallas is richer than anything he has written earlier on medieval Nepalese history. This is so because of several reasons. Petech has now fuller access to the medieval chronicles--the Gopālarājavamsāvalī, the Kaisher Library Fragment, and the abridged vamsāvalī discovered by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya at Gorkha. He has also some 57 inscriptions, though still far and few between, 11 in all before Jayasthitimalla. This dearth of epigraphic sources is, however, compensated by the rich and detailed accounts in the chronicles for the Early Mallas, the Tripura and Bhonta Families. If we compare the two editions of Petech, it becomes so clear that although he tried to use the chronicles in 1958, he was all but bewildered by the impenetrability of the language of the Gopālarājavamsāvalī. Thanks to the generosity of CNAS and the magnanimity of Vajrācārya, in 1984 Petech's access to it became less painful:

My understanding of the Chronicle was much facilitated when during my stay in Nepal in 1982 Mr. Dhanabajra Bajracharya generously allowed me to utilize his unpublished Nepali translation of the Gopalavamsavali; by its help most if not all the difficulties were overcome.

(Petech 1984:7)

With such generous access to Vajrācārya's published and unpublished papers the difficulties of comprehending key source-materials for the Mallas were painlessly overcome. Petech's new treatment of the Mallas, therefore, shows a substantial change.

The chronicles apart, Petech has collected 195 colophons and 57 inscriptions for the period between A.D. 1200-1482 (a total of 282 years). Of these 83 are new ones-not included in the first edition. However, all of these, with the exception of 6 colophons, are already published. Of these 6 documents, 2 are from the Tokyo University Catalogue; the third from the Kyoto University Catalogue (Petech 1984: 94 footnotes 4,6 and 7), and the fourth one was communicated personally to Petech by Vajrācārya (Petech 1984: 163, footnote 5). The remaining two colophons were personally communicated to Petech by Purnaharsa Bajracharya (pp 83-84). None of this is intended to deny the fact that Petech is a first-rate scholar on his own right. His strong points are too many: his impeccable knowledge of epigraphy, the Sanskrit language, Hindu astronomical computations, familiarity with Tibetan-Chinese sources, not to mention his

felicity in European sources and ease of access to Nepalese published and unpublished works. Yet it is unbelievable that he still thinks that

Malla tax (mallakara) (in Licchavi epigraphy refers to) the tax imposed on their subjects, either for defence or for tribute purposes.

(Petech 1984:71)

In a well-documented paper, a Nepalese scholar had already convincingly shown that the mallakara was a tax levied on sheep (Gyanamani Nepal, "Mallakarako Paribhāṣā," Contributions to Nepalese Studies Vol VII, Nos 1 & 2, pp. 193-221 (June 1980). Equally astonishing is Petech's identification of the respectable feudal title rāṇaka with a Magar surname and Pañcavata with a Magar country on this flimsy ground. Rāṇaka was a respectable feudal title used in, among other places, medieval Mithila--an unlikely place for Magars to drift in the late 12th century A.D. ! Yet another surprise for us is the legend perpetuated by Petech (1958: 124), circulated uncritically by Regmi I (1965:313) and reiterated unrectified by Petech (1984:129). According to Petech.

The Svayambhū Nāth inscription of 492 NS tells us that Jayarājadeva died as a result of having been burnt asleep.

The Svayambhū Nāth inscription of 492 is luckily still intact on the site. The lines 7-8 merely refer to the invasion and arson by Sultān Samas ud-dīn Ilyās and to the death of King Jayarājadeva in course of time. The two events are totally unrelated:

kālena kiyatā dhīmān sa rājā tridivaṅgataḥ

There is nothing here, as far as one can see, which tells us that the king died "as a result of having been burnt while asleep".

This compels us to raise a related question: was Petech able to interpret the materials to which he had so easy and generous an access? There are reasons to doubt if all of Petech's interpretations of the chronicle materials are impeccable. The chronicle was compiled at the court of Jayasthitirājamalla: he is praised in no uncertain terms. Yet Petech misses two central ambiguities of the chronicle:

1. In the whole chronicle there is not a single clue as to the social origins or lineage of Jayasthitirājamalla-- except the cryptic note that he was brought by Devaladevī.

2. There is not a single explicit entry in the whole chronicle which tells us when Jayasthiti-rājamalla was formally crowned a King of Nepal.

Petech claims that

The formal proclamation took place on September 15, 1382 when Jayasthitimalla gathered all the nobelmen (bhāro) and accepted their homage and offerings (prasāda)

(Petech 1984:137)

The text of the chronicle (folio 60b: line 3) reads in our English translation as follows:

In NS 502, on Āśvina Śukla Āstamī, Śrī Śrī Jayasthiti-rājamalladeva the King consecrated the royal sword by assembling all the nobles in the royal courtyard. He distributed 1700 pieces of shields and swords.

(Malla in Vajrācārya and Malla, 1985:162)

Clearly, the occasion was not a coronation ceremony: it was Āśvina Śukla 8 i.e., the Kulachi-Bhoj-ceremony during the Durgā Pūjā in the Royal Palace.

Yet in the whole book, Chapter VI: The Tripura and Bhonta Families (pages 93-136) is, without any doubt, the best part of revised Petech. It has all the virtues of Petech's writing: it is clear, concise, sharp in focus, and above all firmly based on solid data culled from the chronicles. The entire chapter in its present form and shape would have been impossible to conceive, let alone reconstruct, had there been no chronicles--the Gopālarājavamsāvalī and its cognates. With admirable patience and success Vajrācārya has been using these materials for well over two decades. His papers on the Doyas, on the Rāmavardhanas, on the Muslim Invasion of 1349, and on the political history of early and late medieval Nepal have shed much light on this obscure period and its source materials. Petech's contribution lies in the fact that he has imposed a chronological structure and a convincing political interpretation on the chronicle materials. All this is evident from Petech's remarks at the end of the chapter:

All these colourful events are known from V³ and VK only, since the colophons, which had grown rare during these times of strife, continued to recognize the legitimacy of the Gwanla Kings only.

(Petech 1984:121)

Where Petech has no chronicle materials to rely on (Dharmamalla, Jyotirmalla, and Yakṣamalla) his narrative thins down as usual, though his treatment remains secure--based as it is mainly on colophons and inscriptions.

In many ways, the most readable sections of the book are the general chapters: Introduction; Chapter I: Sources; Chapter II: Chronology--all at the beginning of the book, and Chapter VIII: Social and Administrative Conditions, at the end. Here too Petech sticks to absolute essentials with scholarly sobriety, yet he has some very significant generalisations to make on the structure of medieval feudal power and society, on the physical and cultural canvas of this power-play. On the economy as such, there is precious little, except for a few pages on coinage. We have now some additional information on medieval coinage in the studies of Bernhard Kölver (Nepal Research Centre Journal, V/VI:133-154, 1981/82). The most provocative remarks made by Petech in these chapters are, of course, about religion and the State and about the political status of the cities of medieval Nepal Valley. In Chapter VIII, Section B deals with the Monarchy and Section C, with Nobility (pp. 188-193). In less than five pages, Petech has distilled the political essence and the nature of medieval feudal power structure. One is almost tempted to say that this is all that is there to the political history of medieval Nepal.

Petech gives a curious interpretation of the word viṣaya, that a viṣaya is necessarily "on the outskirts of the Valley, geographically speaking outside it" (p. 193).. In the Narayan Chaur Inscription of Jayadeva II's time (No. 149 in Vajrācārya's edition of Licchavi Inscriptions), while demarcating the land-boundaries of the grant located in the Naxal area, line 49 refers to a Vodda Viṣaya. If a viṣaya is necessarily outside the Valley, as Petech has it, the location of a viṣaya right around a cluster of draṅga-s should have been a geographical impossibility. Viṣaya is the administrative status of a settlement, not its geographic location.

Unlike in the first edition, Petech is now less sure of himself about the location of the Licchavi capitals and palaces:

The time is not yet ripe for a final choice
(p. 184)

is a wise and sober but unexpected remark from a scholar who tends to be too often so committed. Despite his own later observation that

we have no significant evidence to show which was
the capital of Nepal in the period before Jaya-
sthitimalla

(p. 187)

Petech concluded earlier that

Patan became the capital (or one of the capitals) in the Transitional period (p. 184) or, Patan seems to have been the capital during the Early Malla and the Tripura/Bhonta periods (p. 188).

Petech diligently arrives at this conclusion on "the statistical average of the preserved colophons and inscriptions" (p. 185). Here the historians of medieval Nepal remind us of the proverbial sage (rṣi) who always analysed the realities of the world outside by merely looking at the shadows cast inside the tree-trunk cave where he meditated. To have to deduce every element of our medieval political history from such meagre non-political documents as the colophons of ritual or religious manuscripts, copied by the pious scribes is, of course, an unforeseen necessity. But when our historians begin to calculate "the statistical average" of the place where these manuscripts were copied to decide where the medieval royal seat lay, we might as well say that we have had nearly enough of "the colophons".

Mary Slusser (1982:123) had almost mercilessly destroyed Petech's pet idea that Patan was a medieval capital city. To stick to such a shaky idea so rigidly is now no more academically tenable unless better evidence than the colophon statistics is available to conclusively show that Patan was ever a royal seat before Siddhinarasimhamalla (A.D. 1620-1681). Besides, Petech is not at all consistent in the application of his statistical tools. We wish he had applied the same tools to decide the complex relationship between religion and the medieval Nepalese State. Starting from the first dated ms. of the period, 'Prajñāpāramitā dated NS 40 (A.D. 920) to the last ones of the period, 'Pañcarakṣā dated NS 600 (A.D. 1480) it would have been a most rewarding statistical exercise to find out how many of the manuscripts are Hindu (Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and Nātha) and how many Buddhist (Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna). More important will also be the average of the places where the manuscripts were copied--courts, temples or monasteries. Petech's sweeping remark that

The king in his public capacity was bound to follow the Hindu rites and uphold the Hindu social order. Śaivism was the official creed of the monarchy.

(page 203)

deserves to be questioned. In the cultural history of the Nepal Valley, during the period covered by revised Petech, Buddhism in its later versions played a most crucial role. This is evident from the fact that several of the extant monasteries were founded during this period or a little later. (See John Locke, The Bāhās and Bahīs of the Kathmandu Valley, forthcoming). This flowering of Buddhist institutions could not have been possible without state patronage or royal investment, nor without sufficient social prestige accorded to Buddhism. Most monasteries have considerable landed property as royal endowments. One really wonders if Petech had looked into this aspect of interrelationship between

religion and the State, rather than just scratching the surface of the heraldic royal titles assumed by the Mallas. Except for their surface value as biruda they mean precious little. In a cultural canvas where a king described by Petech as "a staunch Hindu" assuming the typically śaiva formula Paśupaticarapa-kamala-sevita Māneśvariṣṭadevatā-vara-labdha-prasādita is described by his official chronicler as "an incarnation of the Buddha, blessed with the grace of Svayambhū in the Kali Yuga, as well as an incarnation of Eight Lokapālas, the Eight Protectors of all sentient beings" only to conclude that "he was like Rāmacandra in the past", it is nearly impossible to be as categorical as Petech on "the official creed of the monarchy" or the rites and the values it upheld "in public capacity".

Petech has collected some 400 documents of the period from different sources located as far apart as Nor Monastery in Tibet and St Petersburg Library in Leningrad. All of these are documented to establish the political chronology of Medieval Nepal. One merely hopes that every item of the documentation is accurate and impeccable. Checking every item is a daunting task--almost as challenging as writing another book. Yet nullius in verba-- we take nobody's word for granted--is so laudible a motto of the Royal Society of London that it is now and then worth pursuing. Scanning and sampling a few of Petech's documentation has been a disquieting experience. To give only a most telling example, on p. 80, Petech gives the colophon of Pañcarakṣa, dated NS 265, copied for a certain Indra Bhāvo of South Kathmandu during the reign of Narendradeva. The colophon was first published by T.R. Vaidya and Hem Raj Shakya in Medieval Nepal: Colophons and Inscriptions (Kathmandu: 1970), p.12. However, in Petech's book the date given is "NS 2-60-5 = 265 dvipauṣa Śukla Ekādasyām Śanaiscara Rohiṇī-nakṣtra yoga- sidvi". As these astrological details are missing from Vaidya and Shakya, we checked Petech's footnote (p.80, no.3) where he writes:

Partly published by Shakya and Vaidya, p.12; reproduced by J. Trier, Ancient Paper of Nepal (Copenhagen, 1972), Plate 111.

However, on checking the plate in Trier's book, it happened to be a totally different manuscript. The Vaidya-Shakya manuscript is in private possession in Patan; the Trier manuscript is in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (No. 175a). The title of the Patan manuscript is Pañcarakṣā; that of the Copenhagen manuscript is Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā. The Patan manuscript was commissioned by Indra Bhāvo; the Copenhagen manuscript, by Nārāyaṇa Thākura. The Patan manuscript was copied in Yaṅgala, South Kathmandu; the Copenhagen manuscript was copied in Mānī-gala, Patan. Only the name of the reigning King and his regnal year are the same; but the remaining astrological data in Petech's documentation come from the Copenhagen manuscript, not from the Patan manuscript. Petech has combined the colophon data from two manuscripts to generate one date--harmlessly, but not accurately. What is disturbing is the confusion of sources because the detailed date comes from the colophon of Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, not from Pañcarakṣa, as Petech has it.

The cover pages of Petech announce that it is a "thoroughly revised edition". As we have emphasized earlier, Petech's reputation as a thorough scholar has never been sullied. Unfortunately, however, the revision and edition of this publication do not seem to have been as rigorous as one expects of a Petech or IsMEO publication. To document some ugly examples only, let us take up computation first. On p. 37, Petech gives a colophon for Rudradeva, dated NS 148 Māgha Śukla 10 on the basis of the symbolic numbering system: rājā vasu -manu-prathiti (841 ? = 148). Vasu is 8 alright, but no known colophon uses other terms used here. Petech does not seem to have confirmed the validity of published reading. On p. 44, the colophon No 2 for Baladeva gives the date NS 152. It should have been NS 172 because the AD conversion is A.D. 1052. On p. 67, colophon No 1 for Rudradeva gives the AD equivalent for Phālguna Kṛṣṇa 8 NS 288 as May 4, 1168; it can only be March 4, 1168. Similarly, on p. 71 colophon No 6 for Vijayakāmadeva gives Āśadha as the Nepālī month and January as the AD conversion. One hopes that it is Māgha, unless Swamikkanu Pallai's tomes on Indian Ephemeris are also full of printing errors. They are no fewer in Petech's book. Here is an incomplete list of the some of the more irritating ones:

developped for developed (p.1,p.105,p.179); constance for constancy (P.2); leafs for leaves (pp. 5-6); protegee for protégé (p.24); confuse information for confused information (p.25); reing for reign (p.32); M.T. Pant for M.R. Pant (p.51); Jule for July (p.61); subiects for subjects (p.67); Thākuriś for Thakuriś (p.67); several building for several buildings (p.106); tried for tired (p.107); eternized for ? (p.107); sacral for ? (p.108); NS for VS (p.102 footnote no 4); inspite of for in spite of (p.109, p.185); sacral hingship for sacred kingship (p.110); tollerated for tolerated (p.110); its titles indicates for its tiles indicaté (p.111); front for from (p.114); teinted for tainted (p.115); fouded for founded (p.118); it authentic for if authentic (p.119); Muhrikha for muhrikhu (p.124); bits of informations for bits of information (p.124); dispartition for disrepair (p.126); depart for departure (p.127); descendance for descent (p.128); his grounds seems for his ground seems (p.128); tollerable for tolerable (p.128); that sound rather vague for that sounds rather vague (p.128); Suryaman Adhikari for Suryamani Adhikari (p.128, footnote No 3); flared out for flared up (p.134); Itam. bahal for Itum Bahal (pp.136 and ff); pretendant for pretender (p.136); stanza for lines/paragraph (137); wich for which (pp.20,146); damayed for damaged (p.149); criterium for criterion (p.167); explaination for explanation (p.157); complicate for complicated (p.179); wa shis for was his (p.181); halft for half (p.182); Tagal for Tangal (p.184); synonymous for synonymous (p.185, p.201); religions for religious (p.187); T.B. Sresthi for T.B. Shrestha (p.197); Aganakamalla for Anarghamalla (pp.79,99, 111,230); tolleration for toleration (p.203); confuse for

confused (p.205); castal for caste (p.206); wreath for
wraith (p.210); S.L. Katare for S.L. Katre (p.235);
Shresthi for Shrestha (p.238). etc.

Because the book was a real landmark in 1958, because its second "thoroughly revised edition" came out after a gap of 26 years, all these typographical and other errors of oversight make it less prestigious than it would have been otherwise. A unique example of oversight in Petech, 1984 is in his introduction to the fragment of a chronicle Petech discovered and published. In the revised edition Petech writes,

The original abridgement stops with the Muslim invasion of 470 NS, the last words being iti vaṃśāvalī (p. 8).

One has only to look up the roman transcription of the chronicle in Petech's book (p. 228) to find out that "the last words" are not iti vaṃśāvalī, but atha vaṃśāvalī likhyate. They are not the last words of the original text, but the initial formula of the new genealogical material grafted onto the old text by the 17-18th century scribe. This is no small surprise because the fragment was discovered and published by Petech a quarter of a century ago. Petech wisely dropped out "the less scholarly appendixes" from the second edition. The genealogical tables are decidedly an improvement to look up. In Table B (p. 230) Petech prints Jayarudramalla of the Tripura Family in block capital letters, implying that Rudramalla too became a full-fledged king (?). But young energetic king-maker, Rudramalla never reigned; he merely ruled. It would have been so very convenient to add at the end of the book a chronological summary of all the known and established dates of the Kings from Jayadeva II to Yakṣamalla--a kind of vintage and concentrated Petech on a single page. But that is probably for the Third Edition which, hopefully, will not take long either to research or to come out.

With disarming modesty Petech writes in his Preface:

Looking back to the last quarter of a century, I am under the impression that the first edition of the present book has fulfilled its task and has played a useful role, if nothing else, as a provoking factor; many later workers in this field have discussed its findings, accepting or rejecting or criticizing them.

(Petech 1984:3)

The revised Petech is going to be more than "a provoking factor" for many workers in the field. It is likely to be a catalytic agent to look for new trails in the historiography of medieval Nepal. Even as it is, Petech's is a fundamental piece of work. No one interested in medieval history can afford to ignore it.

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